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Wm. L. G. Smith

THE
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OF
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VOL. I.

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1877

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THE
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OF
CANADA,
FROM
ITS FIRST DISCOVERY,
COMPREHENDING
AN ACCOUNT OF
THE ORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE COLONY OF
LOUISIANA.

By GEORGE HERIOT, Esq.
DEPUTY POSTMASTER GENERAL OF BRITISH AMERICA.
&c. &c. &c.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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P R E F A C E.

AS no regular History of CANADA has hitherto appeared in the English language, it has been deemed adviseable to commit the following sheets to the press. They are not offered to the Public as composing an original work. The greatest part of their contents has been taken from *l'Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, written many years ago, by Father Charlevoix. The names of the other writers, who have likewise been consulted on the present occasion, are as under *.

The History of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, is much involved with that of Canada, the inhabitants having been ne-

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- * Voyages de Champlain.
 - Voyages de la Henton.
 - Le Clerc sur l'Etablissement de la Foix, &c.
 - Voyages de la Patherie.
 - Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses.
 - L'Histoire des Voyages.

cessitated, for a long series of years, to maintain, against the unremitted efforts of that people, an almost continual struggle. Although at once the most warlike, as well as political, of all the natives on the continent of America, the number of their warriors exceeded not a few thousands; and they long continued to spread terror and desolation throughout an extent of several thousand miles. The promptitude and energy with which their measures were usually executed, compensated, in a great degree, for the smallness of their numbers. Their mode of warfare was by ambuscade and surprise, and they seldom hazarded an open engagement. The chief credit of a leader consisted in providing for the safety of his own party, and at the same time of destroying or of capturing as great a number as possible of the enemy. This mode of combat, doubtless, originated from the state of the country inhabited by savages, it being every where covered with thick forests.

The courage displayed by savages seems, generally, to consist more in patience during

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The leading principles which actuate the savages of North America, are their cherishing a strong and unalterable attachment for the tribe among whom they were born, the respect and tender recollection which they entertain for the memory of their departed friends, and their implacable hatred to their enemies.

The manners and customs of various nations on the continent of America will, perhaps, compose the subject of a future disquisition.

Although situated at an immense distance from Canada, LOUISIANA was, from its original discovery, and other circumstances, considered, at its first settlement, to be intimately connected with that pro-

vince. The diocese of the Bishop of Quebec extended to the settlers of the latter, and the missionaries established there were under his direction. The colony of the Illinois, which was originally attached to Canada, but afterwards added to Louisiana, had a direct communication with New Orleans, by means of the navigation of the Mississippi, and contributed towards the support of that settlement. The History of the Establishment of Louisiana is, therefore, not improperly included in that of Canada.

QUEBEC,
26th October 1803.

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THE
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BOOK I.

Discovery of Canada.—Voyages of Jacques Cartier.—Settlement of Quebec by Champlain.—He accompanies the Algonquins and Hurons on Expeditions against the Iroquois.—That Nation attack the new Colony, and are repulsed.—Commerce and Government of Canada vested in a Company of a hundred Associates.—Quebec taken by the English.—Restored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye.—Death of Champlain the Governor.—His Character.—Establishment of the Order of St. Sulpicius on the Island of Montreal.

AFTER the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile, various expeditions from different ports in Europe were fitted out for investigating and exploring

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I.

1492.

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exploring

BOOK ploring the coasts of the New World, which had
 I. promised to its first visitors inexhaustible sources
 1492. of wealth.

Henry the Seventh, king of England, whose economy had deprived him of the honour of contributing towards the accomplishment of an event, the most important in its consequences that had ever taken place among mankind; to atone, in some measure, for his incredulity and neglect, sent, in less than two years afterwards, on discoveries to the westward, and with a view also of finding a shorter passage to the Indies, John Gabato, a Venetian, who was the first European that visited Newfoundland, and part of the neighbouring continent.

1500. Another navigator, named Gaspar de Corte-
 terelle, explored all the western coast of Newfoundland, and part of Labrador. Not long after this period, the great bank of Newfoundland was frequented by British and Norman sailors, for the purpose of carrying on the cod fisheries.

1525. No attention to the establishment of settlements on the continent of America was paid by any of the powers of Europe, until Francis the First of France sent out John Verazani to examine the coasts of that country.

It is much to the credit of the Italians, that the three great states who share the continent of
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the New World, owe to their countrymen the first discoveries which were made in that quarter.

BOOK
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1525.

To Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, Spain is indebted for her rich possessions in the western hemisphere.—Jean Gabato and his sons, citizens of Venice, opened to the English a knowledge of the territories which they afterwards occupied; and Verazani, a native of Florence, communicated to the French the first satisfactory information of the tracts of country which were destined to be settled and possessed by that people.

Another celebrated navigator may be added to these, Americus Vespuccio, a Florentine, who rendered to the Castilians and Portuguese eminent services in the New World; and who, although not the first discoverer of that continent, had the singular and enviable pre-eminence of communicating to it his name.

Verazani, after having made two voyages to America, during the latter of which he ventured to disembark on some parts of the coast, to which he gave names long ago forgotten, set out from France on a third expedition, with a design of establishing a colony on that continent; but having never been afterwards heard of, the thoughts of adventuring thither were for some years abandoned by the French government.

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1525.

1534.

Philip Chabot, admiral of France, at length prevailed on his sovereign to resume the former intention of establishing a colony in America, from whence the Spaniards drew immense quantities of treasure. The plan which he suggested being approved of, Jacques Cartier, a captain of Saint Maloes, was selected for carrying it into effect. Having received his instructions, Cartier sailed from Saint Maloes, on the 20th of April, with two vessels of twenty tons each, containing twenty-two sailors. He arrived, on the 10th of May, near Cape Bonavista, in the island of Newfoundland, and descending from thence six degrees to the south-east, entered into a harbour, to which he gave the name of Saint Catherine. Proceeding on his course towards the north, he discovered some small islands in the Gulf, which he called *Iles aux Oiseaux*, or Bird Islands. After having sailed for some days along the coast of Newfoundland, without being able to ascertain whether or not it was an island, he directed his course to the southward, and entered into a bay of considerable extent, which, from the heat prevalent there at that season of the year, he distinguished by the appellation of *Baye de Chaleurs*. This is the same which in some ancient maps bears the name of *Baye des Espagnols*, and it is said, that the Spaniards having landed there, and finding

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finding no mines, pronounced repeatedly these two words, "*Aca Nada*," "here is nothing;" which some of the savages having used to the French, made them at first imagine that Canada was the name by which the country was generally known among the natives. When he had coasted a great part of the Gulph, he took possession of the country in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, and setting sail for France on the 15th of August, arrived on the 5th of September at Saint Maloes.

BOOK
I.
1534.

On the report of this voyage, which was laid before the king and his ministers, it was conceived that considerable advantage might accrue to France by the establishment of a colony in that part of America. Cartier accordingly obtained a commission more ample than the first with which he had been invested, having now under his guidance three ships well equipped. Accompanied by several young gentlemen who wished to attend him as volunteers, he embarked on the 19th of May in *La Grande Hermine*, a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burden. On the 25th and 26th of July, the three vessels arrived at the place of rendezvous in the Gulph, after encountering on the voyage a severe storm, in which they had been separated. By the violence of the weather, Cartier was compelled, on the 1st of August, to take refuge in a port at the

1535.

BOOK

I.

1535.

entrance of the river, and on the northern coast, which he called Saint Nicholas, and it is one of the few places in Canada which have retained the names given to them by that navigator. The vessel again entered the gulph on the 10th of August, when Cartier gave to a bay, which is situated on the north coast and opposite the island of Anticosti, the name of Saint Laurent, in honour of a Saint in the Romish calendar, whose fast is observed on that day; a name, which was afterwards extended to the Gulph, and to that immense river which there disembogues its waters, formerly known by the appellation of the river of Canada; which, for vastness of sources, length of navigable course, and picturesque grandeur, and beautiful scenery exhibited by its banks, stands unrivalled by any body of fresh waters on the habitable globe. To Anticosti he gave the title of Assumption, but this has now yielded to its former name.

On the 1st of September, he entered the mouth of the Saguenay, and thence continuing to range along the coast of the Saint Laurence for about fifteen leagues, he anchored near an island, which he called l'Isle aux Coudres, from the quantity of hazle trees with which it abounded. In ascending the river eight leagues further, he approached another island, larger and more beautiful than the last, in whose woods he discovered

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covered a number of wild vines, whence he called it l'Isle de Bacchus, an appellation which afterwards gave place to that of Orleans. From hence he continued his course for upwards of ten leagues higher, and arrived at the mouth of a rapid river which flows from the northward, denominated by him la Riviere Sainte Croix, because he entered it on the 14th of September.

BOOK

I.

1535.

On the 19th of the same month, Cartier sailed in the *Hermine*, to proceed to the island of Montreal, on which was an Indian village called Hochelaga; but on the 29th his vessel getting aground in lake St. Peter, he prosecuted his journey in two long boats well armed, and arrived at Hochelaga on the 2d of October. The inhabitants of this settlement received with kindness both him and his attendants; and during his stay he ascended the mountain of Montreal, and was highly gratified with the beauty, extent, and variety, which the country presents to the eye when viewed from the summit of that eminence.

The inhabitants of the village were Hurons, who appeared to be inoffensive in their manners, and as they had never before seen any of the human species of the colour of Europeans, they attributed to them something supernatural, and were particularly struck with the appearance and effect of their fire-arms.

BOOK

I.
1535.

Cartier left Hochelaga on the 5th of October, and on the 11th arrived at Saint Croix, where, from the advanced state of the season, he found it would be necessary to pass the winter. During that period, he and his people were violently attacked by the scurvy, which was cured by means of the bark of the fir-tree, from a particular species of which the Canadian balsam is produced.

In the following year Cartier returned to France, and made a favourable report to his Sovereign of the country which he had visited and explored.

From the date of this event, nearly four years had elapsed, when François de la Roche, Seigneur de Roberval, applied to Francis the First for a commission to prosecute the discoveries already made in Canada; and letters patent, bearing date the 15th of January 1540, were granted for this purpose, declaring him Seigneur of Normbegue, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Terre Neuve *, Bellisle, Carpon, Labrador, la Grande Baye †, and Bacculaos, and giving him over all these places the same power and authority which the king himself possessed.

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M. de Roberval embarked the following year, and sailed from France with five vessels, Jacques Cartier accompanying him in the station of first captain. The voyage was successful, and a fort was constructed, according to some writers, on the borders of the river Saint Lawrence, to others, on the island of Cape Breton; and Jacques Cartier remaining there as a commandant, with several men, a sufficient quantity of provisions, and one of his vessels, M. de Roberval returned to France to solicit more ample succours.

B O O K

I.

1535.

The post appears to have been injudiciously chosen, for the cold and other inconveniencies discouraged the garrison, which was likewise molested by the natives, who, on their part, were offended that strangers should form an establishment in their territory. Jacques Cartier despairing of the return of M. de Roberval, embarked with his people, with an intention of sailing for France, but meeting near the coast of Newfoundland, the Viceroy, accompanied with a considerably supply of men, arms and provisions, was readily prevailed on to join him.

As soon as M. de Roberval had re-established his garrison, he left Jacques Cartier there a second time, with the greater part of his people; he afterwards ascended the river Saint Lawrence, and entered the mouth of the Saguenay, from whence he dispatched one of his pilots to endeavour

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I.

1535.

deavour to discover, beyond Newfoundland, a passage to the westward. The pilot sailed no higher than the 52nd degree of latitude, and returned. The time employed in this voyage to Canada is not mentioned in any extant memoir, but it appears that M. de Roberval did not remain long in that country, as he communicated to Jacques Cartier the discoveries he had made.

He embarked again for Canada a few years afterwards, accompanied by his brother, who had acquired considerable reputation in the army, and was called by Francis the First, le Gendarme d'Annibal. Both they and Cartier perished on this voyage, together with all their attendants, and it never could be known how or where this misfortune happened. With them, every hope of establishing a colony in America became for the present suppressed.

1598.

After France, torn by civil wars, had resumed her former tranquillity under Henry the Fourth, the Marquis de la Roche, a gentleman of Breton, obtained from the king the same commission which M. de Roberval had enjoyed. He visited the coast of Acadia, made some observations upon it, and returned to France. Being unable, from unfortunate circumstances, to prosecute his enterprize, his death, it is supposed, was occasioned by disappointment.

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From the period now mentioned, not more than three years had elapsed, when the Sieur Pontgrave, an expert navigator, and one of the principal merchants of St. Maloes, who had made several voyages to Tadoussac, and conceived that considerable profit might be reaped from the traffic for furs, if pursued exclusively by one association, proposed to M. Chauvin, captain of a vessel, that a commission for this purpose, containing also all the prerogatives granted to M. de la Roche, should be procured from the king. That commission having been granted, some small vessels were equipped and sailed for Tadoussac, under the guidance of M. Pontgrave, M. Chauvin having also made this voyage. The former wished to ascend as far as Three Rivers, because that place, which he had before examined with care, appeared to him the most eligible on which to form a settlement. The only intention of the latter, however, was to trade for furs, with which he soon loaded his vessels. He made another voyage for the same purpose, and with equal success.

M. Chatte, governor of Dieppe, succeeding M. Chauvin, formed a company of merchants at Rouen, and fitted out an armament, the conduct of which he committed to Pontgrave, to whom the king had given letters patent for prosecuting discoveries, and establishing settlements in the river

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river of Canada. Samuel de Champlain, the commander of a vessel arriving at the same time from the West Indies, M. de Chatte proposed to him to embark for Canada, to which, after obtaining leave of the king, he consented.

In 1603 they arrived at the place of their destination, where Champlain, after remaining for a few days, embarked in a light batteau with five sailors, and ascended the St. Lawrence from Tadoussac as high as the Falls of St. Louis on the south side of the island of Montreal, where Cartier had formerly been. The village of Hochelaga was found almost deserted, but a very few inhabitants remaining.

He descended to the ships, and sailing to Acadia, left a small settlement on its coast. He reconnoitered the northern coast of the Gulph, which he named Malebau, because his vessel was in danger of being stranded. He there wintered, and took possession of it in the name of the king his master, as also of Cape Blanc, which is to the eastward.

The company with which Pontgrave and Champlain were concerned, increased in number in proportion as the commerce in peltry became more considerable. The Malonese, in particular, entered with such spirit into its views, as greatly tended to an augmentation of its funds.

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M. de Champlain, whose inclination did not lead him to take much interest in commerce, and whose sentiments were liberal and directed to the public welfare, after having maturely searched for the most eligible spot on which to found a settlement, which the court of France desired might be made on the coast of the river, he chose the promontory of Quebec, where he arrived on the 13th of July. Having erected some huts for himself and his people, they began to clear the land of the wood with which it was covered.

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1603.

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M. de Monts, who was at the head of the association in which Champlain and Pontgrave were engaged, and who having had a patent for forming settlements and trading in North America, had been unsuccessful in the execution of the objects he had in view with respect to Acadia, and had thereby, in a great measure, lost his influence with the men in power. Champlain and Pontgrave attached themselves nevertheless more strongly to his interests, and sailed for America, a year from the date of their last voyage, the former with a design to succour and advance his settlement at Quebec, the latter to prosecute the traffic at Tadoussac.

The infant colony was found in as good a condition, as from the circumstances of the climate, and the industry of the settlers, could be supposed.

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posed. Directions had been given for the cultivation of rye and corn, and the crops produced from both had been sufficiently abundant. The vine had also been planted, but from the long duration and severity of the cold, it gave but faint indication of ever being able to arrive at any degree of maturity or perfection.

The savages who frequented and owned the neighbouring country, were called Algonquins. The Montagnez possessed the territory bordering on the Saguenay and the settlement of Tadoussac. With neither of these tribes did the French find any difficulty in forming an alliance, especially as they assisted them in times of want, which not unfrequently happened, particularly when they had been unsuccessful in the chase.

But the greatest advantage which these natives hoped to derive from the French, was by procuring their assistance against their common enemy the Iroquois.

Champlain having wintered at Quebec, and being there joined in the spring by Pontgrave, and a party of Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnez, who were on their march against their common enemy; the former, without due reflection of the future consequences which might ensue from his early interference in the wars of the savages, was persuaded to accompany them and to become their leader. From hence doubt-
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less may be traced, the calamities and dangers to which afterwards the colony was frequently exposed, and which at some periods threatened its total destruction.

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He embarked with his allies, on the river St. Lawrence, and prosecuting their journey in small birch canoes, ascended the river of the Iroquois, now called Sorel. After passing the rapid of Chambly, they encamped before the enemy, and entrenched themselves towards the land side with large stakes. It is not the custom of savages to fortify themselves on the side towards the water, as they are never attacked from that quarter. They only arrange their canoes by the border of the river, or lake, and the surprise must be sudden if they have not time to embark, and get beyond the reach of danger before the entrenchment can be forced. When they have encamped, they detach scouts to reconnoitre, but this is only a ceremony. The scouts never go far from the camp, and if they return without perceiving any signs of the enemy, the whole band goes quietly to rest. They are often the dupes of so rash a confidence in security, but experience has not taught them to remedy the neglect. The Iroquois alone make war with great circumspection, which is doubtless one of the chief causes of the superiority which they have gained over their foes, who do not yield to them

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them in valour, and whose superior numbers ought to have subdued them.

Without effect did Champlain represent to his allies the danger to which they exposed themselves by a conduct so extraordinary; the only reply which they made was, that men who had toiled during the day, required to pass the night in repose. The whole of the country through which they passed during this expedition, appeared rich and agreeable. A large lake, near thirty leagues in length, and twelve in the broadest part, at which they at length arrived, Champlain distinguished by his own name, which it has ever since retained.

The enemy were met on this lake, but as savages seldom fight upon the water, both parties gained the shore. On the following morning they engaged, when the Iroquois were defeated, chiefly owing to the superiority which the French with their fire arms gave to the allies.

After this expedition, Champlain descended to Tadoussac, where he embarked with M. Pontgrave for France, leaving the colony under the direction of Pierre Chauvin. He was well received by his sovereign, to whom he gave a particular description of the colony, and of the country in which it was settled; and on this occasion the appellation of New France was first given to Canada.

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Champlain and Pontgravé embarked at Har-
 fleur to sail again for New France, having two
 armed vessels under their command. They had
 not long arrived, when the former was solicited
 by the Montagnez and Algonquins to accom-
 pany them in a second campaign against the
 Iroquois. They marched to the river Sorel,
 and Champlain followed them in a barque; but
 he found not there the number of warriors
 which his allies had induced him to expect.

He at the same time learned that a party com-
 posed of a hundred Iroquois was not far distant,
 and that if he wished to surprise them he had
 not a moment to lose. He therefore left his
 barque, and entered into a canoe, attended by
 four Frenchmen in separate canoes. The con-
 federates had not proceeded on above half an
 hour, when they sprung ashore, without saying a
 word to the French, and deserting their canoes,
 swiftly ran into the woods. Champlain found
 himself much embarrassed respecting the mea-
 sures he ought to pursue, as he had been for-
 faken, without a single guide, and had to walk
 through a marshy country, and across pathless
 forests, infested by multitudes of musquitoes
 and other winged tribes of torture which cloud-
 ed the atmosphere. Having proceeded for some
 time as chance directed, dreading every moment
 that he might be lost in the woods, he perceived

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a savage whom he joined. Shortly afterwards an Algonquin captain came to him, and besought him to quicken his pace, as the allies were engaged with the Iroquois. The shouts of the combatants soon reached his ears. The allies had attacked the enemy, who were well entrenched, and were repulsed with some loss. At the sight of the French their courage rekindled, and they rapidly returned to the charge. The Iroquois, who were yet unskilled in defending themselves against fire arms, began to relax, and to take shelter, many of them having fallen by shot from the blunderbusses. Ammunition at length failing the allies, who had not provided for so long a resistance, it was proposed they should assault the entrenchment. Champlain with his four Frenchmen placed himself at their head, and notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the besieged, a considerable breach was made. In the mean time a young Frenchman, whom Champlain had left in his barque, arrived, accompanied by five of his comrades. The fortunate arrival of this succour allowed the assailants time to breath, whilst they also kept the enemy engaged. The savages again returned to the assault, and the French placed themselves on the wings to sustain them. The Iroquois became overpowered by these repeated attacks, and almost the whole were killed or captured; some

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running to headlong and thus terminating the Frenchmen's selves for the of the vict spoils. They cealed the much umb the exerci soners, and on the oth There the ness, which their more greater evi flesh of pri humanity, cruel torm defend the

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running to the river, there plunged themselves headlong and were drowned. The action being thus terminated, there arrived another party of Frenchmen, who were inclined to solace themselves for the loss of a participation in the honour of the victory, by a share in the division of the spoils. They seized the beaver skins which concealed the nakedness of the dead. This gave much umbrage to the allied savages; who, by the exercise of their usual cruelty on the prisoners, and by devouring one of them, excited, on the other hand, horror among the French. There the barbarians boasted of a disinterestedness, which they were surprised not to find in their more civilized allies, and conceived it a greater evil to despoil the dead, than to eat the flesh of prisoners, and to violate all the laws of humanity, by taking delight in inflicting the most cruel torments on enemies no longer able to defend themselves.

Champlain demanded of them one of the captives, whom they willingly bestowed. He also engaged the Hurons, who were about to return to their country, to take with them a Frenchman, that he might acquire their language, upon condition that they would allow a young Huron to accompany him to France, that he might be able to report to them the state of that kingdom,

BOOK of which they had already so often heard a description.
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He accordingly embarked with him the same year, and returned the following spring, when he conducted him to Montreal, where he chose a spot for a habitation, which he intended to establish there; but which, however, he did not carry into execution, being obliged to return to France, where the death of the king had tended to compleat the ruin of the affairs of M. de Monts.

This gentleman, by losing his master, lost at the same time all his remaining interest, and found himself no longer in a condition to engage in any undertaking. He exhorted Champlain, whom he had never abandoned, not to be discouraged, and to seek out some more powerful patron for the infant colony. He accordingly addressed himself to Charles de Bombon, Count of Soissons, who gave him a favourable reception, agreed to the proposal which was offered him, of becoming the parent of New France, procured from the queen regent the authority necessary to maintain and to advance what had already been begun, and nominated Champlain his lieutenant, with ample and unrestrained power.

1612.

The death of this prince, which happened soon afterwards, did not derange the affairs of
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New France, for the Prince of Condé readily condescended to take charge of them, and continued Champlain in the employ with which the count had invested him. There arose, however, some difficulties relating to the fur trade, which were occasioned by merchants of Saint Maloes, and this circumstance detained him during twelve months in France.

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On his return to Quebec, he found the settlement in so prosperous a state, that he thought it unnecessary to remain there, and ascended with M. Pontgravé to Montreal. After spending some days on the island, the latter descended to Quebec, and Champlain made a voyage on the grand river of the Outaouais, whose course is to the northward of Montreal, and whose junction with the waters of the St. Lawrence contributes to separate from the continent that large and beautiful island, and the smaller Isle de Jesus. From thence he returned to Quebec to join Pontgravé, with whom he embarked for St. Maloes, where they arrived in the end of August

He then entered into a new plan of association with merchants of that city, of Rouen, and of Rochelle. The prince, who had assumed the title of viceroy of New France, approved of the association, and procured for that body letters-patent from the king. M. de Champlain, no

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longer entertaining any doubt that a colony in which so many wealthy persons were now interested, and which had for its patron the first prince of the blood royal, would soon acquire a more permanent and solid form, began seriously to think of providing for it spiritual aids, of which it had hitherto been almost totally destitute. He demanded and obtained four Recolets, whom the company cheerfully supplied with every necessary article, and he conducted them himself to Canada.—When they arrived at Quebec, M. de Champlain immediately proceeded to Montreal, where he found a number of Hurons with some of their allies, who engaged him in a third expedition against the Iroquois. By his complaisance to these savages, it must be allowed, he took the true means of conciliating their friendship, and of becoming acquainted with their country, where he contemplated the establishment of a profitable commerce, and the means of their being converted to the Christian faith. But he much exposed himself, and reflected not, that this facility of condescension to the will of barbarians, was by no means suitable for procuring that respect which his character and situation demanded. Having occasion to return to Quebec, he requested that the savages would delay their departure until he rejoined them; but forgetting

their

their promises with some treachery, and who was wiser in accustoming that he might be taught, by language, by the savages. The savages, however, it appeared, with some difficulty, he had given suggested to the barbarians, ought not only to be circumspect in resolving to await his anxiety for zeal, rather than attend to their

He therefore and ten savages to Montreal; much exposed the Hurons, who were here, to the neighbourhood of time was and in giving

their promise, or being impatient, they embarked with some Frenchmen who remained at Montreal, and with Pierre Joseph le Caron, Recolet, who was willing to embrace this opportunity of accustoming himself to the savage mode of life, that he might more quickly acquire their language, by being under a necessity of speaking it. The savages having disregarded their engagement, it appears that Champlain might, without difficulty, have acquitted himself of that which he had given, and his experience might have suggested to him, that to retain respect among barbarians, any mark of insolence or distrust ought not to be passed with impunity.—The only circumstance which can justify Champlain in resolving to follow the Hurons, who disdained to await his arrival, appears to have been his anxiety for the safety of the Recolet, whom his zeal, rather than his prudence, had induced to attend them.

He therefore departed with two Frenchmen and ten savages, whom he met on his arrival at Montreal; and, although they travelled with much expedition, he could not overtake the Hurons, until he approached their village. It was here agreed they should wait until the neighbouring warriors assembled. The interval of time was occupied in festivity and dancing, and in giving way to the emotions of joy which

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they appeared to feel at the prospect of being aided by the Frenchmen in their war, of which they already assured themselves of victory.

The greater part of the people being convened, they left the village on the 1st day of September, and passed along the borders of a lake three leagues distant from thence, where there were extensive fisheries reserved for the winter. An adjoining lake descends into the last by a narrow channel, in which great quantities of fish are caught by means of pallisades, almost shutting up the passage, and leaving only small openings, where nets for ensnaring the fish are extended. They there halted a short time, waiting the arrival of the other savages, who at length joined, with their arms, provisions, and other articles. A council was immediately held, in order to make choice of some of the most resolute men, whom they might dispatch to give advice to five hundred warriors who had promised to reinforce this expedition. For that purpose they dispatched, in two canoes, twelve of their stoutest men. In the mean time it was resolved to invest the fort of the enemy. After having travelled along a variety of rivers and lakes, during which several days were occupied, they arrived at the theatre of hostility, and before the fortified village. Although it had been agreed that they should not discover themselves until

until the fort entered on not admit already ven by the ene Champlain men, and e that tribe o No sooner the report the balls v quickly retr them such a rencontre. ample, and dred yards, ther with wounded. given by C proposed to frained not their condu a species of lilades, on men with fi their galleri a kind of n people from which were

until the following day, the savages immediately entered on skirmishing. Their impatience would not admit of delay, and some of the party having already ventured too far, were closely pursued by the enemy. It then became necessary that Champlain should advance with his few Frenchmen, and exhibit to the enemy a spectacle which that tribe of the Iroquois had not yet witnessed. No sooner did they perceive the flash, and hear the report of the arquebusses, with the noise of the balls whistling past their ears, than they quickly retreated into their fort, carrying with them such as had been killed or wounded in the rencontre. The assailants followed their example, and retired to the distance of eight hundred yards, from the view of the enemy, together with six of their number who had been wounded. This step was contrary to the advice given by Champlain, and to the plan previously proposed to be adopted. He accordingly refrained not from representing the impropriety of their conduct, and prevailed on them to construct a species of wooden cavaliere to overlook the palisades, on which would be placed some Frenchmen with fire arms to dislodge the enemy from their galleries. He likewise caused to be made a kind of mantelettes, to cover and protect the people from the showers of arrows and of stones which were poured upon them, to enable them, under

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under cover, to set fire to the pallisades, and to render hazardous any attempt of the enemy to extinguish it, by exposing them to the shot from the cavaliere. They applauded this proposal, and forthwith began to construct the engines recommended. The five hundred men who were expected as a reinforcement did not arrive, which was a circumstance of disappointment and discouragement. But as the body was yet sufficiently numerous to take the fort, Champlain pressed them to lose no time, assuring them that the Iroquois, having experienced the force of the fire-arms, whose shot could penetrate substances which were proof against arrows, had begun to barricade and strengthen their village, already inclosed by four pallisades in depth, formed of strong and large pieces of wood, interwoven with each other, of the altitude of thirty feet. Their galleries were in the manner of parapets, which they had fortified with double pieces of wood, proof against the impression of shot from the arquebusses. Their fort stood contiguous to a pond of water, from whence it was plentifully supplied by means of a quantity of ducts, by which they could readily throw water to extinguish fire, either within or without that structure. An approach was made to the village with the cavaliere carried by two hundred of the strongest men, who placed it before the piquets at the distance of six

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or seven feet, arquebusses, cover from to be shot or enemy had great number which overl to dislodge, not venturing fought under to bring, as which were fire to the in original plan time shooting little execut tomed to m the art of wa ever he thou imprudently from the act be derived. collecting wa much confu advantage, through their effect. In t cipal chiefs proposed a r

or seven feet, when three Frenchmen, armed with arquebusses, were ordered to ascend it, under cover from the arrows and stones which might be shot or thrown, in which operation the enemy had not by any means relaxed. The great number of shots fired from the cavaliere, which overlooked them, compelled the Iroquois to dislodge, and to abandon their galleries; and not venturing longer to expose themselves, they fought under cover. The assailants neglecting to bring, as they were ordered, the mantelettes, which were designed to guard them in conveying fire to the inclosure, abandoned this part of the original plan, and raised a loud cry, at the same time shooting arrows into the fort, which did little execution against the enemy. Unaccustomed to military discipline, or instruction in the art of warfare, each savage performed whatever he thought most proper, and the fort was imprudently set fire to, in a situation, whence, from the action of the wind, no advantage could be derived. In the mean time the assailants were collecting wood to encrease the fire, and fell into much confusion, of which the besieged taking advantage, poured such a quantity of water through their spouts as completely to defeat its effect. In this attempt, where two of the principal chiefs were wounded, some of the others proposed a retreat, and a suspension of hostilities,

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until the arrival of the five hundred men, who, they affirmed, would soon form a junction.

The chiefs have little command over their followers, and act as caprice suggests; a certain cause of the disorder and failure of all their undertakings, especially when they attempt to engage an enemy who is prepared for the encounter, and acts upon the defensive.

Some days having elapsed, and the five hundred men not arriving, they deliberated on their departure; they were in vain solicited by Champlain to make another attempt at destroying the fort by fire, on a day when the wind was favourable for that project, and blew with considerable strength. They began to construct baskets for transporting the wounded, who are placed within them, folded together and bound with cords in such a manner as to deprive them of all motion, occasioning them to suffer the most severe and excruciating pain; a state which Champlain himself was unfortunately necessitated to experience, having been badly wounded in the knee.

The enemy pursued them about half a league, keeping at a small distance, and endeavouring to lay hold of some of the rear-guard, but finding that they acted with caution, at length withdrew.

The savages make their retreat with great security, placing all the wounded and aged in the centre, being well guarded on the van and on the

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The Iroquois nations whom they have they disseminate drefs.

Champlain and wished to but could not mised him, refusal with became there among these during that Hurons, and gonquins, fiffing. He with the Hur of the rivers wished to engage the Iroquois, were attache manners, to barked with arrived on the terwards retu

the rear, and disposed according to their mode of order, until they arrive at a place where they conceive themselves perfectly free from attack.

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The Iroquois never make a lasting peace with nations whom they have once conquered, or whom they hope to overcome by divisions, which they disseminate amongst them with great address.

Champlain soon recovered from his wound, and wished to proceed on his return to Quebec, but could not obtain a guide who had been promised him, and the Hurons accompanied their refusal with some indications of disrespect. It became therefore necessary that he should winter among these barbarians. He employed himself during that season in visiting the villages of the Hurons, and some of those belonging to the Algonquins, situated on the borders of lake Nipissing. He reconciled some neighbouring tribes with the Hurons; and so soon as the navigation of the rivers was open, having learnt that they wished to engage him in a new enterprise against the Iroquois, he persuaded some savages, who were attached to him from the mildness of his manners, to accompany him, and secretly embarked with Pierre Joseph for Quebec, where he arrived on the 11th of July 1616. He soon afterwards returned to France.

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The allies, from some motives of dissatisfaction, had meditated the destruction of the French. They probably were inclined to adopt this resolution from the apprehension that when Champlain returned from France, he would inflict signal vengeance on them for the death of two French inhabitants, whom they had assassinated, perhaps from a view of possessing some articles of their property. They assembled to the number of eight hundred, near Three Rivers, to deliberate on the means of crushing at the same time all the French; but Frere Pacifique, a Recollet, came to a knowledge of their design by means of one of their number, and by degrees dissuaded the greatest part of them from any longer entertaining that intention. They accordingly made proposals for a reconciliation, and the missionary charged himself with negotiating with the commandant for that purpose. Champlain, however, on his return, demanded the two assassins; one of them, who was the least culpable, was sent to him, together with a quantity of furs "to cover the deed," or to make an atonement to the surviving friends. It was necessary to accept of this species of satisfaction; an accommodation took place, and the savages gave two of their chiefs as hostages.

The colony never received from France the assistance which was requisite for its advancement and

and prospered in its affairs whose views were. The Prince, his name, in view of the advantage of during the and the intention of him of the mission of had entrusted his imprisonment the association divided the endangered ment.

The period highly lauded obstacles to ex however, a to struggle contradiction

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and prosperity. The court took no interference in its affairs, which were left to the company, whose views were solely directed to the fur trade.

The Prince of Condé did little more than lend his name, which contributed nothing to the advantage of the settlement; besides, the troubles during the regency, which cost him his liberty, and the intrigues which were carried on to deprive him of the title of viceroy, and to revoke the commission of Maréchal de Themines, to whom he had entrusted the patronage of Canada during his imprisonment; the want of unanimity among the associates, the jealousy of commerce which divided them, all these circumstances frequently endangered the existence of so young an establishment.

The perseverance of Champlain was therefore highly laudable, as he had a multitude of obstacles to encounter and to overcome. He never, however, abandoned his object, although he had to struggle against the caprices of some, and the contradiction of others.

The Prince de Condé resigned for eleven thousand crowns his vicerealty to the Maréchal de Montmorenci, his brother-in-law, who continued Champlain in the lieutenancy, and charged with the affairs of the colony in France, M. Dolu, grand auditor, with whose probity and zeal he was well acquainted. At that period, Champlain,

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plain, persuaded that New France would assume a more favourable aspect, brought thither his family. He arrived in Canada in the month of May, and found at Tadoussac some traders from Rochelle, who, to the prejudice of the company, and contrary to the express prohibition of the monarch, were trafficking with the savages. They were the first who sold them fire-arms, as these instruments of death had hitherto been carefully withheld from the barbarians.

In the following year the Iroquois appeared in arms in the very centre of the colony. These savages dreading lest the French should become populous in the country, and by their alliance with the Hurons and Algonquins, raise these tribes to a condition of resuming their former superiority, resolved to crush them before they had time to gain a greater accession of strength. They assembled three considerable bodies for separate attacks. The first moved towards the rapids of St. Louis, near Montreal, and there found some Frenchmen who guarded the passage, and who had been made acquainted with their movements. Although the number of the latter was few, yet with the aid of the savage allies, they obliged the enemy to retreat. Several of the Iroquois were killed, some were taken prisoners, and the remainder saved themselves by

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The second approached vent of Re where the attack that rons at no then laid w cinity of th came of the moir. The to repres th became no Champlain delay to rep de Montmo inforcement personages had disregar duce them

by flight, carrying, however, with them a Re-
colet, whose name was Poulalu. They were
pursued without success. At length the French
detached one of the prisoners, to whom they gave
his liberty, recommending him to propose an ex-
change of the missionary for one of their chiefs.
This man arrived at the moment of time to save
the Recolet from the flames. The proposal with
which he was charged was accepted, and the
exchange was accordingly made.

The second party, embarked in thirty canoes,
approached Quebec, and went to invest the con-
vent of Recolets on the river Saint Charles,
where there was a small fort. Not venturing to
attack that place, they surprised a party of Hu-
rons at no great distance from thence. They
then laid waste the cultivated lands in the vi-
cinity of the convent, and retired. What be-
came of the third party is not related in the me-
moir. The necessity of having sufficient force
to repress the daring aggression of these savages,
became now more than ever apparent, and
Champlain conceived that he ought without
delay to represent to the king and to the duke
de Montmorenci, the necessity of sending a re-
inforcement, and likewise to explain to these
personages the conduct of the company, who
had disregarded his reiterated applications to in-
duce them to fulfil their engagements. He de-

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1620.

puted for this service Pierre George le Baillif, who was personally known to the king. His reception was favourable and gracious, and he obtained his demand. The company was suppressed, and two gentlemen, named William and Emeric de Caën, uncle and nephew, entered into all its privileges.

Champlain was commanded, in a letter from the viceroy, to maintain a strict authority over the commercial inhabitants. He at the same time received a letter from the king himself, assuring him that he was well satisfied with his services, and exhorting him to continue the same proofs of his fidelity. This mark of honour did not tend to augment his fortune, which indeed did not much occupy his mind; but it invested him with an authority of which he had greater need than ever, on account of the contests which daily arose between the agents of the old company and those of the Sieurs de Caën, and which otherwise might have produced an unfortunate issue. Although he assiduously endeavoured to attract inhabitants to settle at Quebec, and gave every possible encouragement to the increase of population, yet in 1622 the total number amounted to no more than fifty persons, including women and children. Commerce was not very flourishing, but the traffic for furs was conducted at Tadoussac with much success, and another mart

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BOOK
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William de Caën came himself to Canada; Sieur Pontgravé, to whom he had committed the management of his affairs, being obliged on account of bad health to return to his native country. His final departure was a great loss to the colony, as to his exertions it had been very much indebted.

1622.

About the same period Champlain was informed that the Hurons proposed to detach themselves from their alliance with the French, and to unite with the Iroquois. On this account he sent, as an ambassador among them, Pierre Joseph le Caron, accompanied by Pierre Nicholas Viel, and Fr. Gabriel Saghart, with directions to use every means in their power to dissuade those savages from embracing that line of conduct.

In the following year the commandant fortified the settlement with a stone redoubt, and as soon as he had completed it, returned to France with his family.

The Maréchal de Montmorenci resigned his charge of Viceroy in favour of the Duke de Ventadour his nephew, who had retired from court, and entered into holy orders. He took charge of the affairs of New France with a view of being instrumental in promoting the conversion of the natives, and he considered the Jesuits

BOOK

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1622.

as a class from whom the most effectual aid could be derived for the execution of this project. He laid his proposal before the king's council, by whom it was highly approved. Five Jesuits were accordingly sent out to Canada, under the protection of William de Caën, who assured the viceroy that nothing should be wanting to contribute to their comfort. They had however scarcely landed, when they were informed that the Recolets would not give them an asylum, and that therefore the most eligible measure would be to return to France. They soon perceived that means had been employed to prejudice the inhabitants of Quebec against them, by putting into their hands all the injurious publications which the Calvinists of France had produced against their society. But their presence soon effaced these hurtful impressions; the libels were publicly burnt, and the Jesuits were lodged in the house of the Recolets on the banks of the river St. Charles.

Some Frenchmen having been assassinated by the savages, the colony experienced great inquietudes; and as the inhabitants were not in a condition sufficiently powerful to revenge themselves, impunity had augmented the insolence of the barbarians so much, that they who happened to go any distance from habitations, were in imminent danger of losing their lives. Such was

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their situation when Champlain returned to Quebec. The fortifications were not improved during his absence, and the lands which had been cleared remained for the greatest part uncultivated. The associates of the Sieurs de Caën thought of little else than the traffic for furs, and being Calvinists, their sentiments increased in asperity towards those of a different system of religion. These circumstances being strongly represented to the council of the king, induced the Cardinal Richlieu to resolve on placing the commerce of New France in other hands, and to listen to a proposal which was presented, of forming a company of a hundred associates.

BOOK
I.

1622.

Nothing could be better conceived, and it would in a short time have made the colony the most powerful in America, had the execution of it been equal to its merit, and had the members of this body kept pace with the favourable disposition then shewn by the king and his ministers towards them.

The memorial which was presented to the Cardinal de Richlieu by M. de Roquemont, Houel, de Lattaignant, Dablon, Du Chesne, and Castillon, imported, that in the following year, the associated body would send to New France 300 workmen of trades of every description; and before the year 1643, would augment the number of inhabitants to 6000, would

BOOK
I.
1632.

lodge, victual, and supply them with every necessary of life for the space of three years, and concede to them afterwards as much cleared land as was requisite for their subsistence, and likewise allow them grain for sowing it; that in each settlement they would establish at least three priests, and that the charges of their ministry, their cloathing, and every thing requisite for their personal comfort, should be defrayed for fifteen years by the company; at the expiration of that period, it was proposed they should subsist themselves upon cleared lands which would be granted them.

In return for these engagements, the king bestowed on the company, and on their successors for ever, the fort and settlement of Quebec, all the territory of New France, comprehending Florida, all the course of the great river, and of other rivers which discharged themselves thereinto, or which throughout this vast extent of country, disembogue themselves into the sea on the eastern or western extremity of the continent; also the islands, harbours, mines, and right of fishing. His majesty only reserved to himself the supremacy of the faith and homage, with the right to a crown of gold of the weight of eight marks, on each new succession to the throne, and the appointment of the officers of justice, who may be named and presented by the company

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company whenever it should be deemed necessary to establish a court of law. The king further conferred on that company the privilege of conceding lands in whatever portions they might think proper, the power of conferring titles of honour according to the merit and condition of persons, with whatever charges, reservations and terms; but in case of the erection of marquises, earldoms, counties and baronies, that they should receive letters of confirmation from the king, on the representation of Cardinal Richlieu, chief and superintendant of the navigation and commerce of New France.

BOOK

I.

1622.

That the associates might fully and peaceably enjoy the privileges, rights, and immunities granted them, all former concessions of lands, harbours, or parts thereof, were revoked; and the king further bestowed on them the traffic in leather, skins, and furs, for fifteen years only, as well as all other commerce by land or water, which could be carried on, in whatever manner, throughout the known extent of Canada, or as far as, during that period, it might be extended; reserving only free to all his subjects, the right to fish for cod and whales; revoking all other grants to the contrary, and prohibiting during the time mentioned, the exercise of all former exclusive rights of commerce, under penalty of confiscation of vessel and cargo for the benefit of

BOOK

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1622,

the company; unless the Cardinal Richlieu should give leave in writing to any individual to trade to those places. It was, however, the king's pleasure, that the European inhabitants of New France, who were neither maintained nor paid at the company's expence, might freely carry on the fur trade with the savages, on condition that they should sell the beaver skins to the agents of the company only, who should be obliged to pay them for each, if in good condition, at least forty *sols tournois*; but forbidding them to be sold to any other persons, under risk of confiscation.

The king engaged to present to the company two vessels of war, from two to three hundred tons burden, which they were to replace, should they by any accident be lost, except in the event of their being captured by an open enemy.

Should the company fail in sending to New France in the course of the first ten years, at least 1500 French of both sexes, they were to restore to the king the sum expended for the two vessels of war.

The nomination of all captains and commanders of forts and places already constructed, or to be constructed in the extent of the country granted, was reserved for the royal pleasure.

It was further ordained, that all artificers among the number of those whom the company should engage to pass thither, after exercising their

their trades to return to establish themselves on the province such service persons of siastics, nobles to enter into from the p That his m were no ne twelve, and letters of n names blank from time t That the de Canada, an converted t fession of th born French France, and and accept d other inhab without bei declaration.

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their trades for six years, might, if they inclined to return to their native country, be entitled to establish themselves in any trading town there, on the production of an authentic certificate of such services. That it should be permitted to all persons of whatever quality or condition, ecclesiastics, nobles, officers of the army, or others, to enter into that association without derogating from the privileges attached to their orders. That his majesty would, should it happen there were no nobles among the associates, ennoble twelve, and for this effect would issue twelve letters of nobility signed and sealed, with the names blank, to be conferred on such as should from time to time be presented by the company. That the descendants of Frenchmen inhabiting Canada, and likewise savages who should be converted to the Christian faith, and made profession of the same, should be reputed natural born Frenchmen, and like them could live in France, and there acquire, succeed to, bequeath, and accept donations and legacies, the same as the other inhabitants or subjects of the kingdom, without being compelled to procure letters of declaration.

Louis XIII. concluded by asserting, that if the associates discovered in the sequel that it might be necessary for them to explain or amplify any of the foregoing articles, or to add new ones, according

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1622.

BOOK I. according to exigencies, it should be complied with, on their representation.

1622.

The grant, of which the above are the articles, was signed on the 19th of April 1627 by the Cardinal Richlieu, and by those who had presented the project. The king approved of them by an edict dated in the month of May, at the camp before Rochelle, and therein were at full length explained the various heads, which have here been stated in abridgement.

Upon the publication of the edict, the Duke de Ventadour resigned to his majesty the office of viceroy. The associates, who now assumed the appellation of the company of New France, soon amounted to the number of one hundred and seven, of whom the Cardinal Richlieu, and the Maréchal Desiat, superintendant of finances, were the chiefs. M. M. de Razili and Champlain, the Abbey of la Madelaine, and several other persons of condition, became members; the greater number were composed of rich merchants of Paris, and several of the commercial towns. In fine, there was every inducement for supposing that New France would soon become an object of importance, when supported by so numerous and powerful an association.

In the mean time, this new institution was in its commencement marked by an unfavourable event. The first vessels sent by the company to

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America, were captured by the English, who were then at hostility with France, although war had not been declared.

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In the following year, David Kertk, a Frenchman, native of Dieppe, but a Calvinist and refugee in England, solicited, it was said by William de Caën, who meditated revenge for the privation of his exclusive privilege, advanced with a squadron to Tadoussac, and detached a part of his vessels up the river, to burn the houses and carry off the cattle from the meadows at the bottom of Cape Tourmenti, a lofty ridge of mountains which abruptly rises from the side of the St. Lawrence. The person who was entrusted with the execution of this service had instructions to ascend to Quebec, and to summon the garrison to a surrender. Champlain and Pontgravé happened both to be there, and after due deliberation, and sounding the disposition of the inhabitants, it was resolved to make an obstinate defence, and so spirited an answer was sent to the English captain, that he thought it advisable to retire. The inhabitants, notwithstanding, were reduced to seven ounces of bread per day, and there were only five pounds of powder in the garrison. Kertk, who doubtless was ignorant of their real situation, believed, on the other hand, that he should derive more advantage with less trouble, in capturing a convoy of the new company,

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1628.

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1628.

commanded by M. de Roquemont, one of its partners, and which was conducting to Quebec several families, with every species of provision.

The misfortune of M. de Roquemont arose less from the advantage of the intelligence which had been communicated by Caën, than from his own imprudent conduct. On arriving in the road of Gaspé, he dispatched a barque, to give Champlain advice of the supplies he was conducting, and to carry him a commission from the king, appointing him governor over all New France, with orders to procure an inventory of all the effects which belonged to the Sieurs de Caën. Not many days afterwards, he learned that Kertk was not far distant, and he immediately weighed anchor to go in search of him, without reflecting, that he should expose to the doubtful decision of an engagement, with the disadvantage of his ships being deeply laden, the whole resource of the colony. He was not long in meeting with the English, whom he attacked, and fought with spirit; but unfortunately for him his vessels were not only incapable of manœuvring as well as those of Kertk, but were also inferior in force: they were soon disabled in their rigging, and compelled to surrender.

1629.

The harvest of this year was extremely moderate; eels caught in the river, and some deer brought by the savages from the chase, enabled

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the inhabitants to subsist for two or three months; but these sources being exhausted, they were reduced to their former extremity. Only one resource remained, on which to rest their expectations. Pierres Philibert Noyrot, superior of the Jesuits, and Charles Lallemant, had gone to France in quest of supplies, and by the generosity of their friends, had amassed a sufficient fund to enable them to freight a ship, and load it with provisions. They embarked together with two other Jesuits, but the vessel never arrived at Quebec. A strong gale threw her on the coast of Acadia, where she was wrecked.

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1629.

The necessitous condition to which the settlement was reduced, was not the cause of his greatest inquietude to the governor. The savages, since the new establishments of the English in America, appeared more alienated from the French; and their growing dislike was, it must be confessed, not without foundation. There existed among the inhabitants a mixture of different religions, and political principles. The Huguenots, whom the Sieur de Caën had introduced, did not pay to the lawful authority too great a respect; and all the firmness displayed by Champlain proved scarcely sufficient to check or repress the irregularities practised by subjects not well affected to the government.

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In this cloudy situation of affairs, he conceived, that if supplies did not soon arrive, the best plan which he could adopt would be to make war upon the Iroquois, and subsist at their expence. The late incursions of these barbarians, and the acts of hostility which they were daily committing, furnished him for this measure with a just pretence. But when matters were arranged for the departure of the French on this expedition, it was found that their ammunition was almost exhausted. Necessity then obliged the governor and his people to remain at Quebec, where there was not a sufficient means of support. They were reduced to go in search of herbs and roots, and to exist on the spontaneous productions of unassisted nature. In this calamitous extremity, after the intelligence which was received of the loss of the vessels from France, the most agreeable prospect which could open, was that of the return of the English.

In the end of July, three months after their provisions had been entirely exhausted, it was announced that some English vessels were seen behind Port Levi, which, with the island of Orleans and the coast of Beauport, forms the bason of Quebec. No doubt could be entertained of their being part of the English Squadron, and the gover-

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governor considered Kertk less in the view of an enemy, than as a deliverer, to whom he should owe the obligation of saving him and his colony from falling a prey to misery and misfortune.

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1629.

Soon after the receipt of this intelligence, a boat with a white flag appeared. The officer who commanded it, after having advanced to the middle of the basin, stopped as if to demand permission to approach; a similar flag, in token of assent, was immediately hoisted, and the officer, as soon as he landed, presented to the governor a letter from Louis and Thomas Kertk, brothers of the admiral.

The letter contained a summons to surrender, in terms the most delicate and polite. The two brothers, of whom the one was intended for the command of Quebec, and the other commander of a squadron, of which the greater part had remained at Tadoussac, acquainted Champlain that they were well informed of the distressed situation of his colony, but notwithstanding, if he would peaceably resign his fort, he should be at liberty to dictate his own conditions, which, with trifling limitations, were granted. On the following day Kertk took possession of the fort, and treated the inhabitants with much humanity. It was the interest of the English that those settlers who had cleared lands should remain in the country, and as an inducement, very advantageous

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vantageous terms were offered them. They were assured, that after experiencing the English government for twelve months, if they disliked their situation, he would get them conveyed to Europe. As the generosity of his conduct had prejudiced many of the settlers in his favour, and as most of them would have been reduced to a state of mendicity had they repassed the sea, nearly all agreed to remain.

1632.

The consideration of the small importance of Quebec to the state, viewed either as an object of policy or interest, induced the majority of the French cabinet to lay aside the intention of negotiating for its restitution. But several motives, notwithstanding, at length determined Louis XIII. not to abandon Canada. The principal were those of honour and religion, which Champlain, who possessed much piety and worth, tended by his persuasions, not a little to strengthen and confirm.

At the instigation of Lord Montagu, the court of England resigned, without much difficulty, the conquest, which otherwise might have occasioned fresh hostilities. The treaty was signed at Saint Germain en Laye, the 29th of March 1632, in which Acadia and Cape Breton were also comprehended.

The settlement in the former was extremely inconsiderable; this post, however, the fort of
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Quebec containing some houses and barracks, a few huts in the Island of Montreal, as many at Tadoussac, and at some other spots on the borders of the St. Laurence, for the convenience of fishing, and traffic with the natives, the commencement of a settlement at Three Rivers, and the ruins of Port Royal, composed the whole extent of the settlements of New France; and all the fruits yet derived from the discoveries of Verazani, Cartier, Roberval, Champlain, from the great expences disbursed by the marquis de la Roche and by Monts, and from the industry of a considerable number of Frenchmen, who might have raised these establishments to a state of higher importance, had their several efforts been judiciously directed.

Quebec being accordingly restored to the French, was delivered up by Louis Kerk to Emery de Caën; and, to compensate for a loss which he had sustained by the capture in the river St. Laurence of a vessel and cargo of his property, which were destined for the relief of the settlement, government bestowed on him for the space of a year, the exclusive profits of the fur trade.

The company of New France resumed all their rights, and Acadia was granted to M. de Razili, on condition that he should there establish a colony. In the same year, Champlain, whom

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1633.

the company, in virtue of their charter, presented to the king, was nominated afresh governor of New France, for which he sailed with a squadron, containing more property than the value of the whole settlement could be estimated at. On his arrival he found the greatest part of his former colonists; and having landed the new settlers, whom he brought with him, he exhorted them sedulously to avoid the errors which had given rise to the past misfortunes of the colony.

The court of France had strictly enjoined that no Protestant should settle in Canada, and that the Catholic religion only should there be tolerated. It had been found, that the late capture of Quebec was principally effected by means of the Calvinists, and experience suggested that it would not be prudent to admit sectaries in religion, where the powers of the government were inadequate to insure submission to the lawful authority.

Great attention had been bestowed in the choice of both male and female emigrants for New France; and it is generally asserted, that the accounts given in some of the old memoirs respecting the mediocrity of virtue in the women, and the mode in which they were selected for wives on their landing in the settlement, are devoid of correctness. Whatever may have been their

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their former character, they demeaned themselves in the sequel with much prudence and propriety of conduct, and an open and exemplary profession of piety was generally exhibited by the inhabitants.

BOOK
I.
1633.

A circumstance which tended to strengthen this attachment to religion and good order, was the establishment of the Jesuits at Quebec. A son of the Marquis de Gamache had obtained permission from his family, about ten years before this period, to enter into the company of Jesuits; and his relations, by whom he was much beloved, becoming acquainted with an ardent desire he entertained of being the founder of a college at Quebec, cheerfully consented to gratify him in accomplishing this measure. They wrote on the subject to Pierre Mutio Vitelleschi, general of the Jesuits, and offered him six thousand crowns in gold, for the purpose of carrying on this foundation. The donation was readily accepted, but the capture of the settlement suspended the project for a time.

The college was commenced in the month of December this year; but the satisfaction derived from that event was soon after damped by the death of Champlain, the governor.

1635.

A man of uncommon penetration and disinterested views, he acquitted himself with honour

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1635.

and credit in dangerous and critical conjunctures. His unabated constancy in the pursuit of plans on which he had resolved, his unshaken firmness in great calamities, his ardent and amiable zeal for the welfare of his country, his tenderness and compassion for the misfortunes of others, his attention to promote the interest of his friends often in preference to his own, denoted him a character well qualified to discharge the duties of the situation which fortune had destined him to fill. His memoirs afford testimony of his professional knowledge, and evince him to have been a faithful historian, a traveller who regarded with attention whatever new objects presented themselves to his observation, a geometrician, and a skilful navigator. The chief object of his ambition seems to have been that of becoming the parent and founder of a colony: an ambition the most laudable which can occupy the human mind.

- M. de Montmagny, who succeeded Champlain in the government, and M. de Lisle, who commanded at Three Rivers, were both Knights of Malta. The former entered into the views of his predecessor, but he was in want of men and finances. Every thing appeared in a languishing condition, the fur trade excepted, which tended to enrich some merchants and a few of the inhabitants.

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It would be a difficult task to explain by BOOK
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1635.
what fatality a company so numerous and powerful as that which governed Canada, and which considered this country as its domain, should thus abandon a colony, whence they had once formed favourable expectations, where the unanimity of its members co-operated for the success of the enterprises which they attempted, and which would have flourished had the hundred associates supplied money for defraying its necessary expences.

An establishment was this year begun on the north shore of the river St. Laurence, about a league from Quebec, to which was given the name of Sillery. It was intended as a religious institution for the instruction and conversion of savages, and twelve French families settled there. 1636.

The Hotel Dieu was founded under the patronage of Madame la Duchesse d'Aiguillon. To procure persons suitable for this institution, she applied to the hospital at Dieppe, and three nuns were chosen from thence, who cheerfully undertook the charitable service for which they were engaged. 1638.

The nunnery of Ursulines was begun in the ensuing year, Madame de la Peltrie, a young widow of condition in France, being its founders.

BOOK

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1638.

She went from Alençon, the place of her residence, to Paris, to settle the preparatives for the undertaking; to Tours, to engage sisters of the Ursulines; from thence to Dieppe, where she had given directions for a vessel to be freighted; on the 4th of May she there embarked, and arrived at Quebec three months afterwards.

The boldness and insolence of the Iroquois had very much augmented, and they had captured several canoes of the Hurons which were on their way to Quebec, loaded with furs. This proceeded from a want of energy in the colony, and from the smallness of its military force, which alone could hold the balance between two savage nations, who, with all their numbers, could not have resisted four thousand French.

The company paid no attention to the colony, and it fell into a state of decline. An enterprise which was then about to be commenced, that of peopling and fortifying a part of the island of Montreal, brought some consolation to M. de Montmagny, and flattered him with the hope, that in a little time the Iroquois would no longer dare to advance, and brave him under the cannon of his fort.

The first missionaries had comprehended the importance of occupying the island of Montreal, but the company of Canada entered not into their views. It then became necessary that individuals

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dividuals should charge themselves with the execution of a design so advantageous to New France, and which the continued hostility of the Iroquois likewise rendered necessary.

BOOK
I.
1638.

The Abbe Olivier, who reformed the clergy in France, and instituted also the seminary of St. Sulpicius in that country, projected for Canada a religious order of the same name, and on the same plan, and for its support the whole island of Montreal was granted by the French king.

The Sieur Maisonneuve, and another person friendly to the institution, accompanied by several families, and a young lady whose name was Manse, arrived at Quebec. M. de Montmagny proceeded with them to Montreal, attended by some of the principal inhabitants, and M. Maisonneuve was solemnly invested with the government of that island, in behalf of the religious order of St. Sulpicius.

On the 17th of May following, the place destined for the settlement of the French, was consecrated by the superior of the Jesuits.

BOOK II.

Construction of Fort Richlieu.—Interview with the Iroquois Deputies at Three Rivers.—Massacre of the Hurons at St. Joseph.—Incurſion againſt the Hurons.—Calamities of that People.—Fifty Frenchmen ſettle among the Iroquois.—Pillage of the Iſland of Orleans.—Escape of the French Settlers from the Country of the Iroquois.—Arrival of the firſt Biſhop.—Diſtreſs of the Colony.—Ereſtion of a Seminary at Quebec.—Tremendous Earthquake.—Eſtabliſhment of a permanent Council.—Engliſh take Poſſeſſion of New Belgium.

BOOK
II.
1638.

THE audacity which the Iroquois had ſhewn, by appearing in arms before Three Rivers, and the insolence of their conduct to the Governor-General, afforded him ſubject of much diſquietude. He found it neceſſary to adopt immediate meaſures for guarding againſt a ſurpriſe, and for repelling the hoſtile efforts of a nation, on whoſe engagement no dependence could be placed, and who ſeemed reſolute, either by policy or by force, to give law to the whole country.

It was then determined to conſtruct a fort at the entrance of a river which was called the river of the Iroquois, but is now known by that of Sorel. In a ſhort time it was completed, although

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though the people employed in that service were interrupted by the repeated attacks of seven hundred Iroquois, whom they successfully repulsed. To the fort was given the name of Richlieu, and a garrison as strong as circumstances would allow was stationed for its defence.

BOOK
II.
1638.

Although the Iroquois seemed intent on carrying to extremity, war against the French and their allies, they from time to time indicated an inclination for peace; an event which the governor earnestly wished for, because he was not in a condition to support hostilities; and by continuing in a state of warfare no advantage could be gained. Had it been in his power to have concealed from his enemies his weakness, he might have profited by that conjuncture to save the honour of the colony; but he was destitute of this resource, and the Iroquois confidently boasted that they should compel the French to repass the sea. The governor, convinced from his situation that the only means remaining to disarm the ferocity of these barbarians, were to act on the defensive, he was not able to assume the tone of obliging them to observe a neutrality towards the settlement. Reduced, then, to the adoption of measures little consistent with his character, he endeavoured to veil them under some honourable pretext, and at the hazard of seeming the dupe of advances, no less insidious and insincere, than assuming

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BOOK
II.
1638.

assuming and ferocious, he pretended to regard them with an air of confidence, from a view of procuring the restoration of captives, the safety of convoys, to avert the ruin of commerce, and to gain a truce, that he might have the means of recruiting his strength.

The native allies of the French being equally solicitous for peace, he waited until, through their means, a favourable opportunity presented itself. On this occasion he went to Three Rivers, where having erected a tent in the fort, he placed himself in a chair, having on either side of him the officers and principal inhabitants of the colony. The deputies of the Iroquois were seated on a matt near his feet; they had chosen this place to mark their respect for Ononchio, the governor, whom they always distinguished by that appellation, and whom they generally addressed by the title of father.

The Algonquins, the Montagnez, the Attikamegues, and some other savages who spoke the same language, were opposite, and the Hurons were mixed with the French. The middle space was unoccupied, that the necessary evolutions might be made without embarrassment and interruption.

The Iroquois had provided themselves with seventeen belts, which were equal to the number
of

BOOK
II.
1638.

of propositions they had to discuss ; and to expose them to view in the order in which they were to be explained, they erected two picquets, with a cord extended from one to the other, on which they were suspended. The orator of the Cantons taking one in his hand, and presenting it to the Governor-General, spoke thus : “ Ononthio, be attentive to my words, all the Iroquois speak by my mouth ; my heart entertains no evil sentiments, all my intentions are upright ; we wish to forget our songs of war, and to resume the voice of cheerfulness.” He immediately began to sing, his colleagues marking the measure with a *hê*, which they drew from the bottom of their chest, and in dancing he moved quickly, and gesticulated in a manner perfectly grotesque. He cast his eyes towards the sun, he rubbed his arms as if to prepare himself for wrestling, and then assuming a composed air, continued his discourse. “ This belt is to thank thee, my father, for having given his life to my brother ; thou hast withdrawn him from the teeth of the Algonquin ; but shouldst thou have permitted him to depart alone ? If his canoe had upset, who could have assisted him ? Had he been drowned, or had he by any other accident perished, thou couldst have had no tidings of peace, and thou wouldst have attributed to us a fault, which would have been alone imputable to thee.” In finishing

BOOK

II.

1638.

finishing these words, he suspended a collar on the cord, he laid hold of another, and after having fixed it on the arm of Couture, a Frenchman, proceeded :. " My father, this collar restores to thee thy countryman ; I was willing to say to him, my nephew, take a canoe, and return to thy country, but I never should have been happy until I had learned certain tidings of his arrival. My brother, whom thou sentest back to us, suffered much, and encountered great dangers. He was obliged alone to carry his baggage, paddle his canoe the whole day, draw it up the rapids, and be always on his guard against surprise." The orator accompanied this discourse with expressive gestures ; and represented the situation of a person sometimes conducting a canoe with a pole, an operation which in Canada is called *picquer de fond*, at others rowing with a paddle ; sometimes he appeared out of breath, then resuming the energy of his powers, he remained for a while in a state of tranquillity.

He seemed in carrying his baggage, to wound his foot against a stone, and he proceeded limping, as if he felt the reality of pain.

The other collars related to peace, of which the conclusion was the subject of this embassy ; each had its particular import, and the orator explained them in the same graphical manner,

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BOOK
II.

1638.

One rendered the paths open and free, another calmed the spirit of war, which rendered the navigation of the rivers dangerous; there was one to announce that they should henceforth visit each other without fear or distrust; and with each different branch of the subject a belt was connected—the feasts which they should mutually give; the alliance between all the nations; the desire which they always entertained of restoring Fathers Jaques and Bressani, who were prisoners; the kindness they intended for them; their acknowledgment for the deliverance of three Iroquois captives; every one of these was expressed by a collar; and had the orator refrained from speaking, his action would, in a great degree, have developed the sentiments which he uttered. He spoke and acted for three hours without appearing to be heated, and he was the first to propose a species of festival, which terminated the assembly, and which consisted in feasting, singing, and dancing.

Two days after, M. de Montmagny gave an answer to the propositions of the Iroquois; it not being customary to reply on the same day. This assembly was equally numerous as the first, and the Governor-General made as many presents

BOOK fents as he had received belts of wampum.—
II. Couture was the speaker, and he delivered his
 1638. discourse without gesticulation, without interruption, and with a gravity which corresponded with the character of the personage whose interpreter he was. When he had finished, Piskaret, an Algonquin chief, arose, and offered his present: "Behold," said he, "a stone which I place on the sepulchre of those who were killed in the war, that no one may attempt to remove their bones, and that every desire of avenging their death may be laid aside." This captain was one of the bravest men in Canada, and had distinguished himself by deeds of singular valour.

Negabama, chief of the Montagnez, then presented a deer skin, saying, "that it was for the purpose of making shoes for the deputies of the Iroquois, lest in returning home they should wound their feet against the stones."

The other nations spoke not, because, apparently, neither their chiefs nor orators were present. The assembly was concluded by three discharges of cannon, which, it was told the natives, were to spread the news of peace.

The following winter exhibited what never had before been seen in Canada since the arrival of the French; the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Algonquins, mixed together in the chace with
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equal concord, as if they composed the same nation. BOOK II.

1647.

The Chevalier de Montmagny received orders to resign his government to M. d'Aileboust, who commanded for a time at Three Rivers, and to return to France.

The conduct of M. de Poinci, Governor-General of the American islands, who attempted to maintain his situation in opposition to the court, and who refused to acknowledge as his successor the person whom the King had appointed, thereby exhibiting an example of rebellion which other governors were beginning to follow, induced the council of his Most Christian Majesty to adopt the resolution of appointing governors of colonies for three years only in the same place, lest, by being continued too long a time in office, they might be disposed to consider the country over which the authority delegated to them had extended, as their own domain.

Inconveniences fail not to accompany general regulations; and it is a misfortune to be placed in circumstances, which may not be remedied by exceptions, often necessary, especially where the public interest is concerned.

When the choice has fallen on a man of virtue and talents, he cannot be allowed to remain for too long a period at the head of a new colony.

BOOK
II.
1647.

colony. On the contrary, a person who, deficient in qualifications, solicits an employment of such importance, cannot too soon be recalled. Nothing can be more prejudicial to a colony, sufficient time for the consolidation and establishment of whose foundations may not yet have elapsed, and where there exist enemies, with whom to contend with advantage, a knowledge of their character, policy, and strength must be acquired, than frequently to change the persons to whom its government and defence are committed. To act with energy, a conformity of conduct is required to pursue projects, which cannot ripen, or be executed, but with time; for it rarely occurs that a new Governor approves the views of his predecessor, or imagines not that he can devise more efficient measures. The same contrariety of opinions may continually succeed, and by the frequent change of men and of schemes, a colony may be condemned to remain in a long state of infancy, and its progress in advancement be tedious and circumscribed.

To M. de Montmagny none of those blemishes were imputable; he endeavoured to regulate his conduct by that of his predecessor, and confined himself to pursue, as far as he was permitted, the plan which Champlain, the founder of the settlement, had traced in his memoirs. Had the company of Canada seconded his endeavours,

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deavours, he would have placed his government on a respectable footing; and much credit was due to him for having so ably supported it with such feeble resources. His conduct was ever exemplary, and on most occasions he displayed tokens of ability, of disinterestedness, and of a love of piety and religion. He was equally respected by the French and by the natives, and he was long quoted by the court, as a model to be imitated by governors of new colonies.

BOOK
II.
1648.

M. d'Ailleboust, his successor, was a man of much probity and worth. He had been a member of the society for the settlement of Montreal, and had commanded in that island during the absence of M. de Maisonneuve: from thence he was removed to the government of Three Rivers. He was well acquainted with the state of the settlement, and neglected nothing in his power towards promoting its welfare. But he was not better supported than the former governor, and New France continued under him to be subjected to disadvantages, which could not without injustice be placed to his account.

Quebec and the other French settlements were then in a state of tranquillity; the savages, domiciliated amongst them, and those who came thither for the purposes of traffic, profited by the general calm. The commerce was chiefly confined to furs, and Three Rivers and Tadoussac

BOOK
II.
1648.

were the marts to which the natives principally resorted. The greater part of the tribes descended from the north; during their stay they were instructed in the truths of Christianity, which they communicated to their neighbours, and generally returned with profelytes, who were prepared for baptism. Sillery every day increased in the number of its inhabitants, who displayed religious fervour and zeal. But the church of the Hurons, although the most numerous of all, and the most productive in examples of piety, became to the evangelic labourer a source of continual disquietude and alarm.

The Andastoez, a people at that period powerful and warlike, had sent to the Hurons an offer of assistance. The opportunity was favourable for endeavouring to regain over the Iroquois that superiority which they formerly possessed, but they would not embrace it. To place themselves in a situation of procuring an advantageous peace, by assuming a portion of warlike strength, was a stretch of policy which they could not reach; they therefore soon became dupes to the perfidy and artifice of their enemies.

For a time there was no appearance of hostility, and nothing more was wanting to replunge the Hurons into their usual indolence and belief of security. The Agniers, a tribe of the Iroquois, secretly took arms, and appeared in their country,

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II.

1648.

Father Antoine Daniel took charge alone of this canton, and made his ordinary residence in the settlement of St. Joseph, the first in which it had been attempted to establish the practice of the gospel. On the fourth of July in the morning, whilst the missionary was celebrating the sacred mysteries, he heard a confused noise of persons who fled on all sides, crying out, "they are killing us."

There then happened to be none in the village but old men, women, and children: of this the enemy was informed, made approaches during the night, and attacked at break of day. The whole inhabitants were massacred, and last of all the missionary.

About this time an envoy from New England arrived at Quebec, with powers to propose a perpetual alliance between the two colonies, independent of all the ruptures which might happen between the parent states. M. d'Ailleboust thought the proposal of mutual advantage, and sent to Boston a plenipotentiary to conclude and sign the treaty; but upon condition that the English would consent to act when necessary, in junction with the French, in making war against the Iroquois.

BOOK

II.

1648.

It appeared that the last condition was not acceptable, and would break off the negotiation. The English were themselves sufficiently remote from the Iroquois to have nothing to apprehend, and were occupied in their commerce, and in the culture of their lands. This alliance therefore did not take place. The Iroquois having suspended for six months every hostile enterprize, the Hurons again forgot that they were concerned with an enemy, against whom they ought ever to have been upon their guard. In consequence of which, a thousand warriors of the former marched into their country, and burnt and destroyed two villages. During this incursion two French missionaries were put to death with the most shocking cruelties.

1649.

After these rude checks, the Hurons despaired of being any longer able to support themselves, and in less than eight days all the villages in the environs of St. Mary were deserted. Of most of these, no traces but the cleansed spots of land remained, the inhabitants on withdrawing having set fire to them. Some of the Hurons went among the forests, others among the neighbouring people. A plan was formed for re-uniting the rest of this dispersed nation, in some situation sufficiently remote, that they might not be disquieted by an enemy whom they were no longer in a condition to resist.

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For this purpose was proposed the Isle Manitoulin, which is situated in the north part of Lake Huron. This island is about forty leagues in length from east to west, its breadth is inconsiderable, and its coasts are frequented by shoals of fish. The soil is in many places good, and as it was not inhabited, it abounded with animals of the chase. The scheme of the missionaries was not however relished, the Hurons being unable to adopt the resolution of exiling themselves so far from their country, which they would not abandon, although they wanted the courage to defend it; they therefore had the complaisance to follow that people to the island of St. Joseph, which is little remote from that part of the continent where they then were stationed.

Their removal took place on the fifteenth of May, and in a little time were formed in this island an hundred cabins, some of eight, others of ten families, without including a great number of families who spread themselves along the neighbouring coast for the convenience of fishing and of the chase. The summer passed in tranquillity, but as they did not cultivate the land, and as their fishing and chase produced but little, autumn was not far advanced when provisions began to fail. They were soon reduced to the most dreadful extremities; they dug up bodies half corrupted to satisfy their hunger, mothers
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BOOK
II.

1649.

BOOK
II.

1649.

devoured their children who died for want of nourishment, and children were reduced to feed on the carcases of those to whom they owed their existence.

A famine which produced effects so calamitous could not fail to engender malignant distempers; and there arose a contagious malady, to whose desolating fury great numbers became the prey.

St. John, another village of the Hurons, consisting of six hundred families, was soon after invaded and destroyed by the Iroquois, and the missionary was put to death.

A consternation so general was spread among the nation of the Hurons, that numbers of them descended to Quebec to join some of their countrymen settled in its vicinity. Almost all the inhabitants of the two villages of St. Michael and St. John, embraced a resolution of presenting themselves to the Iroquois, and of making an offer to live in their society. They were well received; but the enemy finding that many were wanderers without the power of fixing themselves in any situation, detached a party of young warriors in pursuit of them. Almost the whole were taken, and no quarter was given. The dread of the Iroquois had such an effect upon all the other nations, that the borders of the river Outaouais, which were long thickly peopled, became almost deserted,

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BOOK
II.

1650.

Brandy and other fermented liquors began now to be introduced among the savages who bordered on Tadoussac, which has since been the cause of great disorder and calamity among the natives, who are much disposed to intoxication, and under its influence give a full scope to all the malignant passions of the human heart.

The persons to whom the government of the colony was committed possessed too much religion and zeal not to oppose themselves to a commerce which tended to foment vice, and they were not even suspected, as were some of their successors, of wishing to increase the revenue at the expence of religion and good order.

This evil made in a short time such advances, that the chiefs of the savages earnestly petitioned the governor to order a prison to be built, in which to confine those who by their irregular conduct disquieted society. Besides the Montagnez, who were the native inhabitants of Tadoussac, there also frequented this post the Bersanrites, Papinachois, and Oumamioucks, among whom were several Christians already converted by native proselytes.

Great care had been taken at Three Rivers to prevent the introduction of this destructive article of commerce, and the natives in that

BOOK
II.

1650.

vicinity were yet strangers to its dangerous effects.

This year, so hurtful to New France by the destruction of almost the whole of the Huron nation, and by other unfavourable events which followed, concluded by the change of the Governor-General. M. de Lauzon, one of the principal associates of the company of Canada, was nominated to succeed M. d'Ailleboust, whose three years were expired; but he arrived not at Quebec until the following year. The latter left without regret an office, where he was destitute of the means of supporting his dignity. The new governor had always held the greatest share in conducting the affairs of the company. He negotiated in England for the restitution of Quebec. His integrity and good intentions were generally known, and he appeared always to have taken a great interest in the welfare of Canada.

1651.

But he found its situation in a worse state than he conceived, and the colony was rapidly on the decline. The Iroquois, become more presumptuous by their late victories, began no longer to consider the forts and entrenchments as barriers to their progress; they spread themselves in great bodies over all the French habitations, and no place was sheltered from their insults.

1653.

The island of Montreal suffered not less from the incursions of the Iroquois than the other quarters

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quarters of the colony; and M. Maisonneuve was obliged to make a voyage to France to solicit the succours, which by letters he could not obtain. He returned with a reinforcement of a hundred men. He also brought with him a female of exemplary virtue, who founded the institution of the daughters of the *congregation*; an institution which afterwards became of eminent advantage to the settlement.

BOOK
II.
1653.

About this period the Iroquois completed the destruction of the nation of the Eriez, or Cat. The commencement of the war had not been favourable to the former, but they persevered, and their efforts at length produced such success, that were it not for the great lake which still retains the name of the latter nation, not a vestige of their ever having existed would have remained. Apprehensions were entertained that these new advantages would rekindle in the breasts of the Iroquois their long cherished hatred to the French, but the tribes of the Onnontagués were more than ever disposed to a union with them. To this end they made advances, which were conceived to be sincere, as their interest corresponded with their present conduct. Pierre Dablon, a missionary amongst them, accompanied some of their convoy to Quebec, that they might endeavour to prevail on M. Lauson to send into their canton a number of Frenchmen.

1655.

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BOOK
II.
1656.

He set out on the 12th of March with a numerous escort, and arrived at Quebec in the beginning of April. The Governor-General entered without hesitation into the views of the Iroquois; and fifty Frenchmen were chosen to form the proposed establishment. The *Sieur Dupuys*, an officer of the garrison, was appointed their commandant. *Father Francois Le Mercier*, who had succeeded *Pierre Jérôme Lalle- mant* in the charge of superior general of the missions, determined himself to conduct those of his order who were destined to establish the first Iroquois church, and whose names were fathers *Fremin*, *Mesnard*, and *Dablon*: their departure was fixed for the 7th of May; and although the preceding harvest had been but moderate, they gave to the *Sieur Dupuys* a quantity of provisions sufficient to support his people during a whole year, and also seed for the lands, of which they were going to take possession.

The account of this enterprize having gone abroad, it became a subject of serious reflection among the *Agniers*, and awoke in them an ancient jealousy which they entertained against the *Onnontagués*. A general assembly of all the canton was convened to deliberate on this affair, which appeared of the greatest importance; and it was there concluded that every endeavour must be used to crush the new establishment. In consequence

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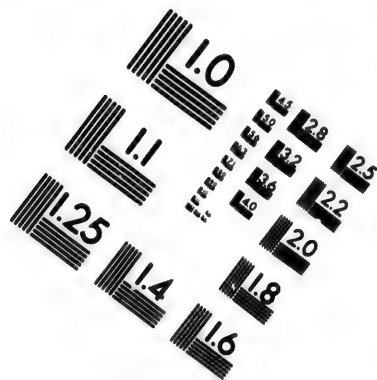
sequence of this resolution, a party of four hundred men was raised, with orders to disperse, or cut in pieces the company of M. Depuys. Having failed in the attainment of their object, they avenged themselves by pillaging some of his canoes which had fallen behind, and were not sufficiently guarded.

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II.
1636.

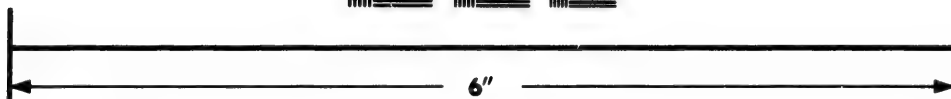
It was not thought expedient to make this insult a ground of quarrel, in hopes that they would soon be in a state to take certain and signal vengeance, if the Agniers did not, of themselves, make ample reparation. They however made it shortly afterwards appear, that nothing was more remote from their inclination. They approached the Isle of Orleans on a morning before sun-rise, fell upon a party of ninety Hurons of every age and sex, who were labouring in the fields, killed six of them, bound the rest, and embarked them in their canoes. They boldly passed before Quebec, and made their prisoners sing opposite to the fort, as if to challenge the Governor to attempt to rescue them from their hands. They conducted them to their village without having been pursued, and there burnt the chiefs; the rest were distributed among the cantons, and retained in severe captivity.

M. de Lauson was much blamed for having suffered calmly such insolence, and his total inaction whilst the enemy were, it may be said, tearing





Resolution test chart featuring patterns of vertical and horizontal lines of varying thicknesses and spacings, labeled with numerical values: 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0.



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BOOK
II.
1656.

tearing from his arms, allies, whose conversion equally interested the honour of the colony and of religion, caused a stain in his memory, which his virtues were unable to efface. There happen sometimes, in the conduct even of worthy men, mistakes which are considered as less pardonable than cowardice itself.

The Hurons, by a presumptuous confidence in security, of which savages cannot divest themselves, suffered a surprize; to rescue them from the Iroquois, an army of five or six hundred men would have been necessary, and the time required for arming and embarking that body would have afforded to these barbarians more than sufficient leisure to have eluded the efforts of their pursuers.

A young Huron of this unfortunate band, who escaped from the village where he was captive, related that many of them were treated with inhumanity unequalled, particularly one of the chiefs, whose punishment was prolonged for three days. Having been converted to Christianity, he ceased not to address himself to the Supreme Being, although he experienced that his perseverance in that devout exercise tended to irritate his executioners, and to lengthen the period of his afflictions.

The Iroquois had no sooner exterminated the Hurons from their country, than they resolved to

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treat in the same manner all their allies. The Outaouais were among the number, and being unable to resist the conquerors, they were not disposed to wait until they should arrive to burn their villages, and put the inhabitants to death.

BOOK
II.
1656.

Some had already withdrawn to the bogs of the *Saguinaw*, others to that of *Thunder*, both of which are in lake Huron, many to the island of Meinitoualin, and to the isle of Michilimakinac; but the greatest part of the nation remained until the extirmination of the Hurons in the borders of the great river, which is known by the name of their nation. They then joined themselves to the Hurons Tionnontatez, with whom they penetrated to the regions of the south. They entered into an alliance with the Sioux, afterwards embroiled themselves with them, and made war at the expence of that people, until this period, unwarlike and little known. They then separated into several bands, and the misery to which they were reduced proclaimed wherever they directed their course the terror of the Iroquois name.

The party who had been sent to settle among the Onnontagués suffered much from want of provisions. They chiefly relied on fishing and on the chase. Both failed them; and the French, who are not accustomed to long abstinence, like the savages, would have perished from hunger, if

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II.

1656.

they had not been supplied by the natives. The whole canton seemed inclined to embrace the Christian faith, and it became necessary to enlarge the chapel more than one half, as it was insufficient to contain all those who wished to become profelytes. It was thought by many of the French that a fort ought to have been constructed in order to guard against the levity and versatile disposition of this people, and it would have been well to have adopted their counsel. But the funds of Canada were unequal to furnish the expence, and among the associates of New France no one had less credit, or was less regarded, than they who had acquired a knowledge of the country.

The Hurons of the island of Orleans, who conceived themselves no longer in security, took refuge at Quebec, and in a moment of despondency for having been abandoned by the French, they had secretly sent a proposal to the Agniers, to be admitted into their canton, and to become with them one people. They had scarcely embraced this measure, when they repented. The Agniers, finding that they wished to withdraw their proposal, took the means of obliging them to fulfil it. They began by letting loose on them several detached parties, who massacred or carried off all whom they found in the country, and when they imagined that these hostilities had rendered

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rendered them more tractable, they sent to Quebec thirty deputies to conduct them away.

BOOK
II.

1656.

Nothing could equal the haughtiness with which these deputies acquitted themselves of their commission. They addressed M. de Lauson, demanding to be heard in an assembly of the French and Hurons, and the Governor-General consenting to their request, the chief of the deputation spoke to the chief of the Hurons as follows :

“ It is now time, my brother, that thou shouldest stretch out thy arm to me, that I may be intreated to conduct thee to my country ; every time that I came with that intention thou didst withdraw, and it was to punish thy inconstancy, that I struck with my hatchet a part of thy countrymen. Believe me, give me no longer reason to repeat that treatment ; arise and follow me.”

He then presented two collars, one to aid the Hurons to raise themselves and consent, the other to assure them that the Agniers would live with them as brothers. Turning to the General, he said, “ Lift up thy arm, Ononthio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom, to depart ; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows fall on thy head. Receive this, and open wide thy arms.” He presented

BOOK
II.
1656.

sented a belt. "I know," continued he, "that the Huron is fond of prayers, that he confesses and adores the Author of all things, to whom, in his distresses, he has recourse for succour. It is my inclination to do the same. Allow the missionary who quitted me, I know not why, to accompany him to instruct me; and, as I have not a sufficient number of canoes to convey so great a body of people, do me the favour to lend me thine." He strengthened these demands by presenting two additional collars, and retired.

It would be difficult to assign a reason why M. de Lauson tolerated such insolence at a time when he had no other enemy on his hand but that of the canton of Agnier. He shewed no displeasure at the haughty discourse of the orator, a circumstance which was remarked by the Hurons, and caused them much embarrassment. From experience of the past, and the general conduct of the Iroquois, they had every evil to apprehend, and they conceived, whatever might be the part they should act, inevitable ruin must overtake them. In this perplexity of their affairs they separated; some declaring that they would not quit the French, others that they were resolved to give themselves up to the Onontagués, with whom they had already made a kind of engagement. The family of the Beas

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These resolute assembled; taken no more suspected, he and Moyne, who and said, "they are his tutelage, therefore he opens his to go where them wherever Agnier, I will adore the Author, hope that thou and I am not therefore will With respect you see that selves; make number."

The chief Bear then expressed I am at thy command eyes in thy even that of own family to embark with

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alone kept the promise which they had made to the Agniers.

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1656.

These resolutions being taken, the council re-assembled; and although the Governor had taken no measures to make his character respected, he appeared there in person. Father le Moyne, who acted as his interpreter, spoke first, and said, "Ononthio is attached to the Hurons, they are his children; but he holds them not in tutelage, they are of age to act for themselves; he opens his arms, he leaves them at full liberty to go where they will. For me, I will follow them wherever they go; if they accompany thee, Agnier, I will instruct thee also to pray, and adore the Author of all things, but I dare not hope that thou wilt attend to me. I know thee, and I am not ignorant of thy indocility, but I therefore will console myself with the Hurons. With respect to the canoes which you require, you see that we have scarcely enough for ourselves; make others if you have not a sufficient number."

The chief of the Hurons of the tribe of the Bear then expressed himself thus: "My brother, I am at thy disposal, I place myself with closed eyes in thy canoe, prepared for every event, even that of death; but I would wish only my own family to attend me. I will suffer no others to embark with me. If, hereafter, the rest of

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1656.

my nation will come to join me, I will not oppose their resolution; but I shall be well pleased that they should be first informed in what manner thou wilt treat me."

He presented three collars to engage the Agniers to use him well, to neglect nothing to comfort him for the sacrifice he made, and to facilitate the voyage. The deputies accepted the collars and seemed well satisfied. They then began to construct canoes, and when they were finished, they embarked with the Hurons and Father le Moynes.

1657.

The good understanding between the French and the Upper Iroquois did not thus seem to have received any interruption from what took place at Quebec, on the subject of the Hurons, but to render it lasting, it was necessary that their deputies should have been impressed with an idea of the strength of the settlement, when unhappily they became witnesses of its feeble condition. This became every day more apparent from the insensibility with which the French seemed to suffer the insults of the Agniers.

A band of the Onneyouths having gone on a hunting expedition to the island of Montreal, surprised three Frenchmen whom they killed, and carried off their scalps to their own village. M. d'Aillebourt, who commanded at Quebec, because

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because M. de Lauson had returned to France without awaiting the arrival of a successor, demanded justice for this outrage; and, to compel the nation to a compliance, he gave orders to arrest whatever should be found belonging to the Iroquois in the colony. It was obeyed, and the first movement which the news of this transaction caused among the cantons was that of embracing the most violent resolutions.

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1657.

In the month of February numerous bodies of the Agniers, of the Onneyouths, and of the Onnontagués, were seen equipped for war. To have occasioned a strong suspicion of their intentions in the breast of M. Dupuys, much less preparation would have been necessary. He found himself much embarrassed, and he saw little chance of escaping. To fortify himself, and to stand a siege would be only to prolong a fate, which finally he could not avoid, for he had no succour to hope for from Quebec; and if he ever could entertain that hope, the time necessary for its arrival would render it vain and ineffectual. He must either sooner or later have surrendered, have perished in resisting, or have died of hunger and want.

1658.

To make his escape, it was necessary the party should first construct canoes, for they had not taken the precaution to preserve a certain number for that purpose, in case they should have

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II.

1658.

been reduced to adopt it. To work at the canoes openly would be to publish his intention, and thereby to render it impracticable. He dispatched a person to M. d'Aillebourt to acquaint him of the conspiracy, and then gave orders for constructing with all possible diligence, small light batteaux; and to conceal from the Iroquois a knowledge of what was carrying on, he employed the workmen in the garret of the house of the Jesuits, which was more detached, and somewhat larger than the others.

This work being completed, he gave notice to his people to hold themselves in readiness to depart on the day which he should point out, and to collect their provisions for the journey, in such a manner as not to give any suspicion to the Iroquois. It only remained to take such secret measures to embark, that the savages might be ignorant of the retreat of the French, until they should be so far advanced as not to be in danger of pursuit, and they fortunately attained that point by a singular stratagem.

A young Frenchman had been adopted by one of the most considerable inhabitants of Onontagué; that kind of adoption, which afterwards became more frequent, has all the advantages of those which were practised among the Romans, even with respect to inheritance, which among savages can be but little: whence

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it often happened that the French received considerable advantage from these adopted persons, particularly in arranging treaties of peace.

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II.
1658.

The young man went to his father by adoption, and told him that he had dreamt of one of those festivals where all is eaten that is prepared; he conjured him to make an entertainment of this kind for all the village, informing him, that if any part of the victuals was left after the feast, he was strongly persuaded he should die. The savage replied that it would occasion him much regret if he should die, that he would himself order the repast, that he would take great care that all should be invited, and that assuredly nothing should be left unconsumed. On this the young man assigned for the feast the 19th of March, which was the day fixed for the departure of the French. All the provisions which could be spared were employed for this purpose, and all the savages were invited.

The repast began on the evening, and, to give to the French an opportunity of putting their batteaux in the water, and of loading them, without the noise being heard in the village, the tambours and trumpets discontinued not to sound on every side of the cabin where the feast was held. Every thing being in readiness for embarkation, the young man, on a signal being given, said to his father by adoption, that he had

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1658.

pity on his guests, the greater part of whom had already demanded quarter: that they might suspend the fatigues of eating and repose themselves, and that he would procure them an agreeable sleep. He began to play on the guitar, and in less than a quarter of an hour not a single savage was awake. He then went to join the little fleet, which in a moment lost sight of the village.

In fifteen days M. Dupuy saw his party arrived in safety at Montreal. The gratification which he experienced at seeing himself delivered from so great a danger, was however diminished by the reflection that his precipitate flight was not creditable to his country, and the regret that for want of moderate succours he had not been placed in a situation to support an establishment of such importance, and to give law to a people, who only derived their power from the weakness of the French, and the means they thereby possessed of repeating their insults.

He found the whole island of Montreal in a state of great alarm. On every hand were seen parties of the Iroquois, who, without declaring themselves open enemies, occasioned such disorders, that no person dared to appear in the country. Towards the end of May, Father le Moyne arrived at that place, conducted by the Agniers, who had given him their promise to

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place him safe in a French settlement, and which they scrupulously observed. After this, the nation threw off the mask, and war became more vigorous than it yet had been.

BOOK
II.
1658.

On the 11th of July the Viscount d'Argenson landed at Quebec, and was received in quality of Governor-General. He was surprised next morning to hear the cry "*to arms,*" and was soon after informed that some Algonquins had been massacred by the Iroquois under the cannon of the fort. Two hundred men, composed of French and savages, were instantly detached in pursuit of these barbarians, but could not overtake them.

Not long afterwards the Agniers approached Three Rivers with a design to surprise that post; and with a view of succeeding they sent eight men, who, under a pretence of holding a conference, had orders to observe the state of the garrison; but M. de la Potherie who commanded there confined some of them in prison, and sent the rest to the General at Quebec. This vigorous measure produced all the success which could be expected from it, and procured some repose to the colony. The missionaries thereby took an opportunity of re-commencing their apostolic labours in the north, and discovered several routs which led to Hudson's Bay.

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1659.

Such was the situation of New France when on the 16th of June François de Laval, Abbé de Montigny, titular bishop of Petrée, and provided by the Sovereign Pontiff with a brief of apostolic vicar, disembarked at Quebec.

The Jesuits had long been persuaded that the presence of a superior ecclesiastic, invested with a character of command, was become necessary in the colony, to remedy certain disorders which began to be introduced, and had demanded of the court that a bishop might be sent out. The Queen Mother, Ann of Austria, to whom they addressed themselves during her regency, was of opinion that one of the oldest missionaries should be chosen to fill this situation, and were inclined to appoint Father Paul le Jeune, who had governed the mission during several years, and was then at Paris, occupied in his spiritual functions, and in high esteem for his sanctity and prudence; but the Jesuits represented that their institution did not permit them to accept of this dignity, and proposed to her Majesty the Abbé de Montigny, who was accordingly appointed.

Father Jerome Lallemant, who had not visited America since he went to France to represent to the company of Canada the wants of that country, governed at that period the college of La-fleche; the new prelate requested of his general, that

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that he might again be sent out, as being a man who was necessary for him, and this missionary was well satisfied to consecrate the rest of his days to the conversion of savages, under the direction of a bishop who was worthy of having been a member of the primitive church. Some ecclesiastics had arrived with M. de Pétrée, and others joined him a few years afterwards. As they arrived, they were put in possession of curacies, with which the Jesuits had hitherto been charged, because they were the only priests in New France. The new curés then served the parishes only by commission. They were likewise for a considerable time moveable at the will of the bishop, and sometimes of the superiors of the seminary at Quebec, who themselves were named by the directors of foreign missions at Paris. Circumstances were in this respect somewhat changed, since the court had ordered that the curés should be fixed in Canada, as throughout the whole kingdom. The island of Montreal, however, with the parishes dependent on it, remained on the same footing, under the direction of the seminary of St. Sulpicius.

Two years had elapsed since this seminary had acquired all the rights of the first proprietors of the island. Some years before this period the Abbé de Quélus had come to Quebec, invested with the provision of Great Vicar of the arch-
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1659.

bishopric of Rouen; but as the jurisdiction of that prelate over New France was not founded on any title, and as the Archbishops of Nantes and Rochelle possessed equal pretensions with him, the Abbé was not acknowledged in the quality of Grand Vicar, and therefore returned to France. He afterwards returned with the deputies of the seminary of St. Sulpicius, to take possession of the island of Montreal, and to found a seminary there, to which no opposition was made, all the colony being satisfied to see a body, respectable, powerful, and fruitful in men of talents, take the charge of clearing and peopling an island, whose first possessors had not advanced the establishment so much as might then have been expected.

The order of St. Sulpicius was no sooner in possession of this rich domaine, than they thought of procuring an hospital, and they had the good fortune to engage many pious persons in this project. Madame de Bouillon contributed sixty thousand livres, Mons. de la Douerfierre, Lieutenant-General of the Presidial de la Flèche, consecrated to it a part of his fortune, and it was by his advice that they made choice of, to serve this hospital, the daughters of the Hôtel Dieu of that place. Mademoiselle Manse, who has already been mentioned, received the hospitallers on their arrival at Montreal, and during her life took

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charge of the affairs of their house, in which she was seconded by M. Maisonneuve, who consented to continue in the government of this little colony after it had changed masters.

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1659.

A town began by degrees to be formed, and an useful and laudable establishment, which at that time took place, tended to increase its prosperity. The institution of the *daughters of the congregation* was founded by Marguerite Bourgeois, who had accompanied M. Maisonneuve to Montreal. It appeared that after some years had elapsed, the sisters of this religious house were inclined to become nuns, but they were afterwards prohibited from shutting themselves up, and from taking vows.

The Ursulines of Quebec contributed much on their part to give to persons of their sex a suitable education, but beyond the precincts of the town there were few girls who had the means of frequenting their schools, and the poverty of the country did not permit them to have a great many pupils. It was intended, after their settlement in New France, that they should charge themselves with the education of savage girls, but the execution answered not the expectations which had been formed, and there were many reasons for abandoning this project.

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1660.

No reinforcements or supplies arrived from France, and the colony was with difficulty able to support itself. No person could adventure to go any distance from the forts without an escort, and in many places there appeared no preparations for harvest, although the season was fast approaching. Many were of opinion that the colony must at length be abandoned, and some began to take measures for repassing the sea. Seven hundred Iroquois, who had defeated a considerable party of French and savages, held Quebec in a state of blockade. The Ursulines and the hospitallers were obliged in the night to abandon their monasteries, where they were not thought to be in security, and towards the end of autumn, when it was supposed the barbarians had returned to their country, it was learnt that they still kept in the environs of the settlement; a circumstance which occasioned much alarm. An ecclesiastic of the seminary of Montreal, named M. le Maître, was killed in returning from the country, where he had been to perform masses. M. de Lauson, Sénéchal of New France, and son of the preceding Governor, having gone to the island of Orleans to assist his brother-in-law, who was attacked in his house, fell into an ambuscade. The Iroquois, who knew him, and wished to get possession of a prisoner of his consequence,

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sequence, did not wish to kill him, but finding that in defending himself he shot many of their people, they fired on him, and he fell dead before any of them ventured to approach him.

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1660.

Many other persons of consideration, and a great number of inhabitants and savages, shared the same fate. Thirty Attikamegues, among whom there were some Frenchmen, were attacked by eighty Iroquois, and defended themselves with valour, which might have saved them had they fought with greater order; even the women combated to the last, and not one would surrender. From Montreal to Tadoussac were every where to be seen fatal impressions of the passage of this ferocious and sanguinary enemy. To this affliction, a scourge no less severe was then added; a contagious malady swept away a great number of the inhabitants.

1661.

By some prisoners who had made their escape from the Iroquois' villages, it was learnt that there were at Onnontagué twenty whose lives had been spared by the enemy, and who there enjoyed an ample state of liberty; that even in the same canton a cabin had been converted into a chapel, where a great number of Christians, French, Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonquins assembled to pray. That the matrons who form the principal body of the state, had no part in

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1660.

the conspiracy which obliged M. Dupuys to withdraw; that during seven days they and their children ceased not to deplore the departure of the missionaries; and that in the cantons of Goyogouin and Onneyouth, there were Christians who were inviolably attached to the faith.

The enemy soon after almost entirely disappeared, and in the month of July were seen at Montreal two canoes with a white flag. They were allowed to approach, and the Iroquois were seen disembarking with equal confidence as if they had been the most faithful allies. They were deputies of the cantons of Onnontagué and of Goyogouin, one of whom was one of the first chiefs of the latter, and well disposed towards the French. They brought with them four Frenchmen, whom they proposed to exchange for eight Goyogouins, prisoners at Montreal, and they promised to restore the other Frenchmen, who were detained in their country, if all the members of the two cantons who had been captured by the French were delivered up to them.

They produced to M. Maisonneuve a letter signed by all the French captives in the two cantons, purporting that they were well treated, and that the savages were much disposed to peace; but that if the deputies were not attended to

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to all Frenchmen in their country would be, without mercy, committed to the flames on their return.

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II.
1661.

The Viscount d'Argenson was at first little disposed to enter on negociation; but considering that, in the present state of the colony, even a disadvantageous peace, provided defensive measures were taken, was yet better than a state of warfare, which he was not in a condition to maintain, he changed his resolution; and Father le Moyne cheerfully undertook to accompany the deputies to their country.

In the mean time the Baron d'Avaugour arrived from France to relieve the Governor, whose ill state of health, the slender supplies which he received from the company, and some private discontents, which persons not well disposed ceased not to occasion him, induced him to apply for a recal before the expiration of the period of his government.

The destitute situation of the colony excited in the new Governor sentiments of disappointment and surprize. He visited the different posts, was afterwards charmed with the appearance of the country, and said that the government of France were not acquainted with its value. He could not conceive how his predecessor had been able to retain it with a force so inferior as that he had possessed, and declared that he would request

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1661.

request to be recalled unless troops and supplies were regularly sent him. This General was a man of resolution and great integrity, but he entertained too high an estimation of his situation and talents, and knew not how to unbend. He had been employed in Hungary, where he had much distinguished himself, but he had in Canada less occasion to exercise his good qualities than to display his defects, and he was made to experience much mortification during the short period that he governed the colony.

1662.

M. de Petrée having gone to France, for reasons which will hereafter appear, proposed to the council of the King the erection of a seminary at Quebec, and letters patent were issued in the following year in favour of the members of the seminary for foreign missions. As this institution, according to the system at that time prevalent, was bound to supply pastors for the whole colony, the prelate obtained an order, that the tithes should be paid to the directors of the new seminary, and procured the taxes to be fixed at a thirteenth part. It was found that this proportion was too oppressive for the colonists, who were poor, and several representations were made on their part.

The Onnontagués overran a great part of the colony, and attacked in open day many of the inhabitants of the island of Montreal, who were
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at work in the country. The town major went out with twenty-six men well armed, to facilitate their retreat, but having gone through the woods to conceal his march from the enemy, he found himself surrounded. He fought bravely for a whole day, and was well supported by his men, until, overpowered by numbers, they all perished.

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1662.

By the last vessels which sailed from Quebec for Europe, the General, and every person in place in the country, wrote in the strongest terms to the King, beseeching his majesty to take under his protection a colony which was absolutely in a state of desolation, and reduced to the last extremity. The King was much surprised on learning that so fine a country had so greatly suffered from neglect. He forthwith nominated M. de Monts, as his commissioner, to visit Canada, and there give intimation of his orders; likewise commanding that four hundred of his troops should be immediately embarked to reinforce the garrisons and posts most exposed. Their arrival at Quebec occasioned great satisfaction, and it was hoped that, in the following year, the colony would be raised to greater consequence than it had yet acquired.

Until then, the Governor-General had been strict in enforcing obedience to the orders which had been issued respecting the sale of spirits to

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the savages, and the Baron d'Avangour had decreed severe penalties against those who should infringe his ordinances on this important point. It happened that a woman of Quebec was convicted of this practice, and afterwards confined in prison. One of the Jesuits, at the instance of her relations, thought that he might presume to intercede with the Governor on her behalf. He was answered with warmth, that since the traffic of spirits was not deemed by ecclesiastics a fault punishable in a woman, no person should thenceforth be punished for that transgression against authority. The General made it a point of honour never to retract the hasty expression that had escaped him.

Of this circumstance the people soon became acquainted, and the disorder was carried to the utmost extremity. They began with strong invective against the confessors, who, with a firmness truly sacerdotal, wished to oppose a barrier to the torrent. The Bishop of Petric was not spared, who thought the evil sufficiently great to employ the censures of the church in endeavouring to effect its cure. Seeing however his zeal inefficacious, and his authority contemned, he embraced the resolution of carrying his complaint to the foot of the throne, and went over to France. He was heard, and obtained from the King such orders as he judged necessary to put a
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II.

1663.

On the 5th of February, about half an hour past four in the evening, a great noise was heard, nearly at the same time, throughout the whole extent of Canada. That noise seems to have been the effect of a sudden vibration of the air agitated in all directions. It appeared as if the houses were on fire, and the inhabitants, in order to avoid its effects, immediately ran out of doors. But their astonishment was increased when they saw the buildings shaken with the greatest violence, and the roofs disposed to fall sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. The doors opened of themselves, and shut again with a great crash. All the bells were sounding, although no person touched them. The pallisades of the fences seemed to bound out of their places; the walls were rent; the planks of the floor separated, and again sprung together. The dogs answered these previous tokens of a general disorder of nature, by lamentable howlings. The other animals sent forth the most terrific groans and cries, and, by a natural instinct, extended their legs to prevent them from falling. The surface of the earth was moved like an agitated sea. The trees were thrown against each other, and many, torn up by the roots, were tossed to a considerable distance.

BOOK
II.

1663.

Sounds of every description were then heard ; at one time like the fury of a sea which had overflowed its barriers, at another like a multitude of carriages rolling over a pavement, and again like mountains of rock or marble opening their bowels, and breaking into pieces with a tremendous roar. Thick clouds of dust which at the same time arose, were taken for smoke, and for the symptoms of an universal conflagration.

The consternation became so general, that not only men, but the animals appeared as if struck with thunder ; they ran in every quarter without a knowledge of their course, and wherever they went they encountered the danger they wished to avoid. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the alternate successions of fire and darkness in the atmosphere, all combined to aggravate the evils of a dire calamity which subverts every thing by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, distressed and confounded, and losing in the contemplation of this general confusion the means of self-preservation.

The ice which covered the St. Lawrence, and the other rivers, broke into pieces which crashed against each other ; large bodies of ice were thrown up into the air, and from the place which they had quitted a quantity of sand, and slime, and water spouted up. The sources of several springs and little rivers became dry ; the waters

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of others were impregnated with sulphur. At some times the waters appeared red, at others of a yellowish cast; those of the St. Lawrence became white from Quebec to Tadoussac, a space of thirty leagues: the quantity of matter necessary to impregnate so vast a body of waters must have been prodigious. In the mean time the atmosphere continued to exhibit the most awful phenomena; an incessant rushing noise was heard, and the fires assumed every species of form. The most plaintive voices augmented the general terror and alarm. Porpusses and sea-cows were heard howling in the water at Three Rivers, where none of these fishes had ever before been found; and the noise which they sent forth resembled not that of any known animal.

Over the whole extent of three hundred leagues from east to west, and one hundred and fifty from south to north, the earth, the rivers, and coasts of the ocean experienced for a considerable time, although at intervals, the most dreadful agitation.

The first shock continued without intermission for half an hour: about eight o'clock in the evening there came a second, no less violent than the first, and in the space of half an hour were two others. During the night were reckoned thirty shocks.

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1663.

New England and New Holland were not more exempted from its effects than the country of New France, and over this tract of land and rivers, when the violence of the shocks had abated, an intermitting movement was felt every where at the same period.

It appears wonderful, that in so extraordinary a derangement of nature, which lasted for six months, no human inhabitant should have perished, and no contagion should have succeeded: the country soon afterwards resumed its wonted form and tranquillity. Although in some memoirs it is stated, that the Great River, with respect to its banks, and some parts of its course, underwent remarkable changes, that new islands were formed, and others considerably enlarged; of this circumstance there does not, however, appear to have existed a probability. The river bears no marks of having suffered thereby any interruption or change in its course, from lake Ontario to Tadoussac. The rapids of St. Louis at Montreal, and the several islands, remain in the same state as when Jacques Cartier first visited them. It is observed elsewhere in this work, that there are evident tokens of the St. Lawrence having at some period separated its waters at Cape Rouge, flowed to the eastward through the level country, and re-united at the foot of the promontory of Quebec, insulating the

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the lofty ground from Cape Rouge to that place; but the alteration of its ceasing to flow through that channel had probably taken effect, long before America had been visited by Europeans. It is also remarked in another part of this work, that at St. Paul's Bay, Mal Bay, and Camomaska, which are subject to partial earthquakes, there are undoubted proofs of the once powerful operation of such natural convulsions.

BOOK
II.
1663.

The Bishop of Petrée, and M. de Mesy, whom the King had sent to relieve the Baron d'Avangour, arrived with a body of troops at Quebec. These gentlemen were accompanied by the Sieur Gaudais, whom his majesty had nominated commissioner, to take possession in his name of all New France, of which the company of Canada had remitted to him the domain on the 14th of February in this year. There also arrived a hundred families, who came to people the country, and several military and law officers.

The commissioner began his functions by receiving from all the inhabitants the oath of allegiance, by regulating the police, and by framing several ordinances respecting the mode of administering justice.

Until that period there had not been in Canada any court of law or equity; the Governors-General decided on cases of dispute according

BOOK
II.
1663.

to their pleasure. Their sentences were never appealed from ; but they generally gave decisions after the mode of arbitration had been ineffectually resorted to, and these were almost ever dictated by good sense, and according to the precepts of natural law. The Creoles of Canada, although far the greater part of the Norman race, had by no means a turn for litigation, and would often rather give up a point than consume their time in pleading. There almost appeared to be a community of property in the province ; at least it was long unnecessary to employ a lock and key, and this mutual confidence was not abused. It is a reflection no less true than humiliating, that from the precaution which a legislator adopts for the prevention of dishonesty, and the advancement of equity, the former should not unfrequently receive its introduction, and the latter should date the commencement of its decline.

There had existed, it is true, for upwards of twenty years, the office of Grand Sénéchal of New France, and at Three Rivers there was a species of jurisdiction, from which an appeal could be made to the tribunal of these magistrates of the sword ; but it appeared that he was subordinate in his functions to the Governor-General, who always retained the privilege of rendering justice themselves, when recourse was had to them,

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them, which frequently happened. In affairs of importance a species of council was assembled, composed of the Grand Sénéchal of the superior of the Jesuits, who, before the arrival of the bishops, was the sole superior ecclesiastic of the country, and of some of the principal inhabitants, to whom was given the quality of counsellors.

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1663.

This council was, however, by no means permanent: the Governor-General established it in virtue of the power which he derived from the King, and changed it whenever he thought fit. It was not then until this year, after the King had taken Canada into his power, that this colony had a permanent council established by the prince. The edict of creation is dated in the month of March, and imported that the council should be composed of M. de Mesy, Governor-General; of M. de Laval, Bishop of Petrée, apostolic Vicar of New France; of M. Robert, intendant; of four counsellors who should be named by these three gentlemen, and who could be continued in office, or changed according to their pleasure; of a procureur-general, and of a chief clerk.

M. Robert, counsellor of state, had been nominated intendant of justice, police, finance, and marine for New France, and his instructions were dated the 21st of March, but he did not make the voyage to Canada; and M. Talon, who arrived

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1663.

rived there two years afterwards, was the first who exercised these functions. M. Ducheneau who succeeded him three years afterwards, brought an order of the King, in virtue of which the intendant filled the office of first president of the council, resigning however to the Governor the highest seat, and the second to the Bishop. Two counsellors were at the same time added to the number, and the whole members of the council had commissions from the court.

It was not intended that the Sieur Gaudais, who had been sent out as King's commissioner, should remain in the colony: he had an express order to return to France by the same vessel which had brought him to Quebec, that he might communicate to his sovereign an exact account of the country; inform him of the general character of the clergy, of the effect produced by the establishment of the council, of the grounds of complaint against the Baron d'Avangour, and of the reception that was given to M. de Mesy. He acquitted himself of his commission to the satisfaction of all parties. The Baron d'Avangour, to whom could be imputed no fault but that of too rigid an adherence to justice, and an obstinate devotion to his prejudices, appeared much pleased with his recal, which he had himself requested. He soon after, with the permission of the King his master, entered into the service of the

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the Emperor, and was the following year killed in defending against the Turks the fort of Serin on the frontiers of Croatia.

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II.
1663.

There happened in the vicinity of the Iroquois country an event which entirely changed the situation of the inhabitants, and to which may in part be attributed the misfortunes and inconveniences which the Canadians for a long time suffered from the insolence of that nation.

1664.

Henry Hudson, an Englishman, but a captain in the Dutch service, had discovered, about half a century before, the river Manhatte. He conceived he had a sole right to the discovery he had made, and accordingly sold it to the States-General, who soon after began to clear and to people the country. Several years had elapsed from that period, when Samuel Argall, having been appointed governor of Virginia, claimed the country discovered by Hudson, alleging that this navigator had no right to sell, nor the States General to purchase it, without the express consent of the King of Great Britain, of whom the former was a subject.

He sent therefore troops and inhabitants to Manhatte, and the Dutch, taken by surprise, could not prevent the English from possessing themselves of New Belgium; but they supported themselves in the remaining settlements of it, and continued still masters of the capital which was called

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called New Amsterdam, of the city of Orange, and of two other forts. The Swedes were at that time also established in the southern part nearest to Virginia. It should seem that until the present period these three nations had lived on amicable terms. Charles the second sent out four commissioners with troops, who made themselves masters of the capital, which they called New York, and of the Manhatte, to which was given the name of Hudson's River; of Orange, which they named Albany; of the settlement of Arasapha, and of the fort of Lavarre.

Not long after this an accommodation took place between the English and Dutch, many of whom consented to acknowledge the king of England for their sovereign, and on this condition they were guaranteed in the possession of their property. His Britannic Majesty, to recompence the States-General for their loss, ceded to them the settlement of Surinam in the vicinity of Guiana; some of the Swedes also continued to retain their property.

Since this period New Belgium has assumed the appellation of New York, and the French have had cause to experience that the Iroquois, by a change of neighbours, were become less tractable, having soon had the policy to discover, that the natural jealousy of the two European nations, between whom they were now situated,

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would always enable them to derive from the one sufficient aid to guard them against being oppressed, or finally subverted by the other.

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1664.

Leisure had not yet been afforded to the government of Canada to pay attention to what was passing at New York. The supplies which the King had already sent to New France, and the measures that were taken for the distribution and support of the reinforcement, gave some reason to hope that the colony might soon be able to give law to the Iroquois.

Unhappily the unanimity which was supposed to have taken place among those to whom the chief guidance of affairs was committed, proved to be but of short duration; and at a time when it was least expected, the new Governor embroiled himself in a difference with the Bishop of Petrée, and with all the principal persons concerned in the government.

It has already been stated that the prelate of Canada had gone to France, for reasons which should afterwards appear; these were to prefer to his sovereign, charges against the conduct of the Baron d'Avangour, by which the recal of the latter was not only occasioned, but the King carried his condescension toward the bishop so far as to leave to him the choice of the new Governor. M. de Mesy, major of the citadel of Caën, being well known to M. de Petrée, and a

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person who made great profession of piety, was, upon being proposed to the King, immediately invested with the office. But scarcely had he entered on the exercise of the functions of Governor, when he disclosed his character to be, in reality, of a different cast. He either had the weakness to be dictated to by a party, or had of himself assumed a degree of haughtiness and ill humour towards the bishop and all his friends.

The change became so rapid, and the flame of division had mounted to such a height, that it became necessary to apply an immediate remedy. It was not doubted by the council of the King that M. de Mesy was in fault, especially when they found at the head of his accusers, the principal members of the council in Canada, M. de Villaray and Bourdon, Procureurs-General, both of acknowledged probity and prudence, and whom the new Governor had obliged to embark for France without any shadow of justice. Attention was nevertheless paid to the representations he made to the minister in his defence; and although they did not justify his measures, they created suspicions, of which several persons could with difficulty afterwards clear themselves.

He chiefly objected to the great credit which the Jesuits had in the colony; as the court had not until then interfered with the affairs of New France, which it had in a great measure resigned

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to the company of Canada, and as these missionaries, from their functions, enjoyed a great share in all affairs relating to the savages, the complaints of the Governor were not altogether unfounded. It was concluded that persons who had acquired so great an influence, would embrace every means of preserving it, which might be the cause of frequent abuses.

On the other hand, the council were fully persuaded that the colony was much indebted to the Jesuits, for having been the means of supporting it through many difficult and perilous situations; they were considered as a society extremely useful on account of the natives of the country, who were acquainted with them only, and of whose disposition and purposes the government could only be informed through their means. M. de Mesy, in replying to the complaints alleged against him, could not justify the motives of his conduct, and M. Colbert conceived it necessary to recal him, in order, if he could prove that there was too great an assumption of power on the part of the ecclesiastics and missionaries, proper limits might be prescribed to that political evil.

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B O O K III.

The Associates surrender their Charter to the Sovereign.—Canada placed under the Direction of the Company of the West Indies.—Arrival of Troops and Supplies.—Construction of Forts on the River Sorel.—Expedition of M. de Tracy.—Regulation respecting Tithes.—Church of Quebec erected into a Bishopric.—Commencement of the Mission of Loretto.—Iroquois Christians settle near Montreal.—Character of M. de Courcelles.—Of the Count de Frontenac.—Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Salle.

B O O K
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1664.

IT has already been shewn to what a state of feebleness and languor the company of Canada had suffered the colony to fall. Weary of supporting the expence which it occasioned, it abandoned to the inhabitants the commerce for furs, almost the sole advantage which it drew from thence, reserving only for the right of seignory, an annual acknowledgment of a thousand beaver skins.

The number of associates, originally one hundred, being reduced to forty, it remitted all its right to the sovereign, who in a little time afterwards comprehended New France in the concession which he had made of the French colonies in favour of the company of the West

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Indies, with the privilege of naming the Governors and all the other officers. This company not having sufficient knowledge of persons proper for filling the first posts, petitioned the King to supply that defect until they should be found in a condition to avail themselves of their powers; to which his Majesty was pleased to accede.

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III.

1664.

In consequence of this arrangement, M. de Mesy had been nominated Governor-General, and M. Robert Intendant of New France.

On the 10th of November of the foregoing year, the King signed a commission of Lieutenant-General, with the authority of viceroy in America, in favour of Alexander de Prouville, Marquis of Tracy, who had instructions to embark for the Windward Islands, to proceed from thence to Saint Domingo, and afterwards to New France, where he was to remain as long as should be necessary, to regulate the affairs of that colony, to establish its internal policy on more solid foundations, and to provide for its security, by reducing the Iroquois to reason.

It was about the period of M. Tracy's departure that the court received the complaints of M. de Petrée and the council of Quebec against M. de Mesy. The King was at the same time supplicated to send to New France families to people the colony.

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1665.

Daniel de Remi, Seigneur of Courcelles, an officer of merit and experience, was appointed successor to M. de Mesy, and M. Talon, intendant in Hainault, succeeded M. Robert. These gentlemen were enjoined by a particular commission, conjointly with the Marquis de Tracy, to investigate the conduct of M. de Mesy, and, if he was found guilty of the facts of which he was accused, to arrest, and bring him to trial. Orders were given to embody the inhabitants, and the regiment of Carignan-Salieres, lately arrived from Hungary, where it had distinguished itself in a war against the Turks, was embarked, and destined to make war on the Iroquois.

M. de Tracy arrived at Quebec in the month of June, with some companies of the regiment of Carignan, who had accompanied him to the West India islands; and he detached a party with the allied savages, under the conduct of the Sieur de Tilly de Repentigny, a captain, to repel the Iroquois, who had begun their usual incursions. Nothing more was necessary to make these barbarians retreat; and the fruit of this first expedition was, that the harvest was gathered in with security. The remaining part of the regiment arrived with M. de Salieres their colonel, in a squadron which conveyed M. M. de Courcelles and Talon, a considerable number of families, several artisans and servants, with the first

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first horses that had ever been imported, cattle, sheep, and in fine, a colony much greater than that which it came to reinforce.

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1665.

When these supplies arrived, the viceroy, without delay, put himself at the head of the troops, and led them to the mouth of the river Richlieu, where he caused to be erected three forts. The first was constructed on the same spot where that of Richlieu had stood, and of which only the ruins remained. M. de Sorel, a Captain of the regiment of Carignan, superintended its structure, and was left there as commandant. Since that period the river has taken his name, which was also given to the fort. The second was built at the foot of the rapid, at some distance up the river, and was called Saint Louis. But M. de Chambly, captain of the same regiment, who had the charge of its construction, and the command, having afterwards acquired the property of the surrounding district, the stone fort which has since been built on the ruins of the former, is at present known by the name of Chambly.

M. de Salieres took direction of the third, which he called Fort St. Therese, because it was finished on the day of the feast of that saint; it was three leagues higher than the second, and the colonel chose to take post here. These works were finished with great expedition, and the Iroquois were for a time appalled; but they

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1665.

soon recovered from their fears. Only one passage to enter the colony was stopped, and they delayed not to open to themselves several others. If instead of these three forts, there had been constructed a post of strength at Onnontagué, or in the canton of Agnier, where care might have been taken to maintain a garrison sufficiently numerous, the enemy would have been much embarrassed. That which now remains at Chambly, covers the colony on the side of New York, and on that of the lower Iroquois.

M. Talon, who remained at Quebec, was occupied in collecting information of the strength, nature, and resources of the country, a statement of which he presented to the minister M. Colbert. He acquainted him of the death of M. de Mesy, which took place before the news of his recal had arrived in Canada; it therefore was thought no longer expedient to enquire into his former conduct, and it was hoped his Majesty would not be displeased that his faults should be buried with him in the tomb.

Towards the end of December, M. de Tracy having returned to Quebec, Garahontbié, an Iroquois chief, arrived there with the deputies of his canton, and of those of Goyogouin and Tfonnothouan; he brought some valuable presents for the General, and assured him of the perfect submission of the three cantons. He spoke with

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modesty, but at the same time with dignity, of the services he had rendered to the French; he then lamented, after the manner of his country, the death of M. le Moyne the missionary, who had been a short time dead, and for whom the Iroquois nation had entertained a great esteem. On this subject he spoke with such eloquence and feeling as much surprised the viceroy and all who were present. He concluded with a proposal of peace, and of a restitution of all prisoners belonging to these cantons, who had been captured since the last exchange.

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1665.

M. de Tracy listened to him with attention, and shewed him public as well as private testimonies of kindness. He consented to all his demands on reasonable conditions, and having distributed presents to him and the other deputies, they took their leave. The silence of the Agnier and of the Onneyouths, and moreover their past conduct, left no doubt of their unfavourable disposition; and it was resolved they should be made acquainted that the French were now in a condition to take revenge for their insolence and perfidy. Two corps of men, the one under the command of M. de Courcelles, the other under M. de Sorel, were ordered in pursuit of them.

1666.

The canton of Onneyouth, alarmed at their preparations, sent deputies to Quebec, to avert

BOOK

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1666.

the storm which threatened them. These deputies had full power to act in the name of the Agniers, who it appears had still parties in the country, one of which surprised and killed three officers, M. M. de Chafy, Chamat, and Moerin, the first of whom was nephew to M. de Tracy. This unhappy accident would not entirely have interrupted the negociation, had it not been for the brutal conduct of an Agnier chief.

M. de Sorel being on the point of falling on a village of this canton, met a troop of warriors belonging to it, who had at their head an Indian called the Flemish Bastard. He made a disposition to charge, when this captain seeing they were much inferior to the French, and finding no probable means of escape, took the measure of surrendering, saying with an air of confidence, he was on his way to Quebec to treat with M. de Tracy on terms of peace. He was believed, conducted to the viceroy, and met with a favourable reception. Another chief of the Agniers arrived a few days after, and reported himself as deputy for his canton. No doubt was then entertained that the Agniers were seriously disposed for peace: but, the day on which M. de Tracy invited these two pretended deputies to his table, the discourse happening to fall on the death of M. de Chafy, the chief of the Agniers, lifting up his arm, said, " by this arm

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that young officer was killed." It may easily be conceived what indignation was felt by every one present. The viceroy told this insolent savage that he should not survive to kill another person, and he was immediately strangled by the executioner in the presence of the Flemish Bastard, who was detained a prisoner.

BOOK
III.
1656.

On the other hand M. de Courcelles, who was unacquainted with what was passing at Quebec, had entered the canton of Agnier; but previous to the commencement of hostilities, he judged it expedient to have an interview with the commandant of Corton, a town in the province of New York, from whom he drew a promise, that he would give no assistance to the Iroquois. During this journey he suffered much, having performed it in the middle of winter, with snow shoes, and carrying his provisions and arms, in the same manner as the soldiers, many of whom, lately arrived from France, were lamed by the severity of the cold. A little more experience would have taught him, that whilst he was bestowing much trouble and time on a useless precaution, he lost sight of the object of his expedition. Having arrived at the canton of the Agniers, he there found the villages entirely deserted: the women, the children, and the old men were placed in security in the woods; and all the warriors had marched against other nations,

BOOK III. awaiting the issue of the negotiations begun by the Onneyouths.

1666.

M. Courcelles, on his return, found the preparations for an expedition against the Onneyouths and the Agniers far advanced. Six hundred soldiers of Carignan, a like number of Canadians, and about a hundred savages of different nations composed the army of M. de Tracy, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, being upwards of seventy years, would command in person. Two field-pieces were the amount of his artillery; but these were insufficient to force all the entrenchments of the enemy. At the moment of his making the dispositions for marching, new deputies from the two cantons arrived at Quebec: he detained them prisoners, and began his march on the 14th of September.

Provisions failing on its way, the army was ready to disband in search of subsistence, when it entered into a wood abounding in chefnut-trees, which supplied the men with food until their arrival at the first village of the Iroquois.

The viceroy entertained the hope of surprising those savages; but the Algonquins, who had taken the van without order, had given them the alarm, so that there remained in the villages but a small number of old men and women, who were unable to follow the others in their retreat. The army entered the first village in order of battle;

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battle; they found there a considerable quantity of provisions, and made prisoners of all the savages. It appears that this canton was then richer than it has since been; the cabins were lined with boards, and ornamented; the dimensions of some were a hundred and twenty feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth.

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III.
1666.

The soldiers in the course of their search found magazines hollowed in the earth, according to the custom of savages; these were so filled with corn, that there appeared a quantity of grain sufficient to support, for two years, the whole colony of the French. The first villages were reduced to ashes; the two last were at some distance, but an Algonquin who had been a long time a slave in this canton, served the army as a guide. The nearest was without inhabitants; and it was only in the last that the enemy was found. They had supposed, that the French would not venture to attack them there, but when they beheld their approach, they were dismayed.

They had not resolution to wait for the attack, and flew to hide themselves in places where it was not possible to pursue them. The cabins were set on fire, and not one remained in the canton.

Persuaded that by means of the forts on the river Sorel he had put the colony sufficiently under cover from the incursions of the Iroquois,

M. de

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1656.

M. de Tracy conceived it the best measure to strengthen and augment the settlements on the river St. Laurence, which was all he could do with the troops now at his disposal; a measure which had already been recommended by the minister.

The inhabitants had built their houses in some places as they chose, without having had the precaution to settle near each other, that they might, when necessary, be supported by their mutual aid. These habitations, therefore, being scattered in various situations, were exposed to the attacks and devastations of the hostile savages. Orders had two years before been given by the King, that no more land should be cleared, but in spots contiguous to each other, that the houses might be contracted as much as possible into the form of villages. But for this effect, the inhabitants who had already cleared their land must have recommenced their labours, and have abandoned the spots they had already cultivated.

The plan which was there laid down was more than once renovated, with endeavours to enforce its execution; but interest, often more powerful than fear, has induced individuals to place themselves in the most exposed situations, where the convenience of commerce hid danger from their view, and experience of the hazards and sufferings

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The viceroy on his return to Quebec, ordered for execution some of his prisoners, and sent the remainder to their country, after having shewn them kindness.

When the navigation of the Great River became free from ice, M. de Tracy returned to France, and the last act of authority which he executed in America, was to establish the company of the West Indies in all the rights which the hundred associates had enjoyed.

Complaints on the part of the inhabitants having been made, with respect to the exorbitant proportion of tithes, a decree was this year promulgated by the superior council of New France, which imported, that without prejudice to the letters patent granted already by the King, the tithes should be levied at a twenty-sixth part only; but that they should be paid in grain, and not in the sheaf, and that the lands newly cleared should pay nothing for the first five years.

1667.

M. Talon left no means untried to increase the commerce of New France, and for this end it became necessary to procure returns proportionate to the advances which had been made, and to the opinion respecting the natural resources of the country, with which he had inspired the court. He had greatly in view the advantages

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1667.

advantages to be reaped from mines of iron, and on his return from France he disembarked at Gaspé, where he believed, according to the testimony of some travellers, that even silver ore might be found; but he was very soon undeceived. He sent to St. Paul's Bay a miner, who discovered ore which appeared to be very productive, and he had a prospect of finding copper. He remarked, that wherever he mined he found evident effects of the earthquake which happened four years before.

1668.

New France now enjoyed profound peace, of which it had for the first time tasted since its original settlement. They who governed it, and to whom it was for this in a great degree indebted, neglected no means of profiting by the advantage, and of giving to the colony so solid a foundation as might render it worthy of the paternal attention which the King had been pleased to manifest towards it. The greater part of the regiment of Carignan remained there, and after the conclusion of the war with the Iroquois, almost the whole of the soldiers incorporated themselves as inhabitants, having received their discharges on that condition. Six companies of the same regiment who had accompanied M. Tracy on his return to France, were sent out two years afterwards, as well to reinforce the most important posts as to augment the number of colonists.

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Many of their officers had obtained lands with the rights of seignors, almost all settled in the country, and married there, where their posterity still exists. The greatest number were gentlemen, so that New France has more ancient noblesse than any other of the colonies. Wherever the land was cleared, it was found to be rich, and as the new inhabitants piqued themselves on their endeavours to equal the virtue, industry, and love of labour of the old; all were soon in a condition to subsist themselves, and in viewing the increase of population, its rulers and spiritual guides had the happiness of experiencing, that no relaxation took place in the morals and religion of the people.

M. Talon was this year relieved by M. de Bouteroue, to whom it was particularly recommended wisely to mitigate the too great severity of the confessors and of the bishops, and to maintain a good understanding among all the ecclesiastics of the country. This last article of his instructions was not grounded on any complaint; the union between all the bodies of which the clergy secular as well as regular were composed, was complete; and nothing tended more than this concord to the morality and instruction of the people.

The intendant on his arrival in France made a complaint to the court of the conduct of M.

Courcelles

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1668.

Courcelles with respect to him. This general, amid attainments fitted to form one of the most accomplished men that had ever governed the colony, had some defects, among which was that of a want of activity; and he would not suffer any person to supply the inconvenience which was occasioned by his indolence, even when the public interest required it.

M. Talon, therefore, in the discharge of his official functions, refrained from communicating to the governor many parts of business which ought to have been made known to him, because he dreaded a delay, which would be prejudicial to the King's service, or to the welfare of the colony. It likewise appeared that M. de Courcelles was not usually easy of access, and that he approved not of the indulgence which had always been shewn towards the clergy, against whom he was somewhat prejudiced.

1670.

In the course of this year the business of erecting the church of Quebec into a bishopric was finally decided. This event had suffered a long delay, on account of the opposition which was made to its immediate dependence on the holy see, respecting which the Pope would by no means relax. The patronage of the bishopric of Quebec, which therefore was vested in his Holiness, prevented it not from being in some measure united to the clergy of France. In order to

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endow the cathedral of Maubec, de Laval the abbat and part

Some at this time having written to the superior Governor named M. de Bretonville, Governor of the colony, with sufficient reason, fearing lest this post might be applied for by the King, who had been in Bretonville.

Although and applied which colony, exertion the favour had sent that peo

endow the new bishopric and the chapter of the cathedral, the King united the two abbacies of Maubec, and M. de St. Valier, who succeeded M. de Laval, afterwards obtained the reversion of the abbacy of Benevent, partly for the bishopric, and partly for the chapter.

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Some change in the government of Montreal at this time took place. M. de Maisonneuve having wished to retire, M. de Bretonvilliers, superior General of the seminary of St. Sulpice, named M. Perrot as his successor. This new Governor, thinking that the commission of an individual and a subject could not invest him with sufficient consequence and authority, and fearing lest the services which he might render this post would not be sufficiently estimated, applied for, and obtained a commission from the King, where it was expressly specified, that it had been given on the nomination of M. de Bretonvilliers.

Although M. de Courcelles wanted activity, and appeared indolent with respect to affairs which concerned the internal regulation of the colony, he was neither destitute of energy nor exertion in whatever had a relation to war, or to the savages. Having learnt that the Iroquois had sent presents to the Outaouais, to engage that people to bring furs to their villages, on purpose

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purpose to exchange them with articles furnished by the English at New York; he conceived that if such a project should succeed, the commerce of New France would be ruined. His views extended yet further, and he doubted not that if the cantons could once detach the northern nations from the French alliance, they would again commence hostilities, which the fear of the French arms, joined to those of the allies, had for a considerable time repressed.

To avert the consequences of such an evil, he resolved to shew himself to the Iroquois, and his journey procured the success which he expected. He even thought it expedient to take his rout by the St. Laurence, whose course is much embarrassed with torrents and foaming rapids from the island of Montreal to the distance of near a hundred and thirty miles, in ascending towards lake Ontario, because he wished to convince the barbarians that he could reach their country, after performing the whole of the journey in batteaux, which is not so practicable by the rout of the river Sorel. This expedition much impaired his health, and he found it necessary to request his recall.

Three French soldiers, having met an Iroquois captain, who had with him a quantity of furs, they gave him a sufficient quantity of spirits to produce intoxication, after which they assassinated

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nated him. Notwithstanding the precautions they had taken to conceal their crime, they were discovered and put in prison. Before these were brought to trial, three other Frenchmen fell in with six Mahingans, who were conducting a quantity of skins equal in value to a thousand crowns; they also deprived them of their faculties by liquor, and after having massacred them had the effrontry to offer for sale their merchandise, which they endeavoured to pass for the produce of their own labours in the chase. They had not the precaution even to bury the bodies of the unhappy savages, which were soon after found and recognized by persons of their own nation.

The Iroquois, with whom these were concluding a treaty of peace, were suspected of the murder, and they were preparing to demand reparation, when it was reported that the deed had been committed by Frenchmen. One of the three assassins disagreeing with his two associates, confided the secret to a friend, who thought it his duty to make it known. The truth afterwards reached the ears of the savages, and the two nations who were upon the eve of entering into a war against each other, united to turn their arms against the French. The Mahingans were the first to take the field, and attacked a French house in open day. The master was ab-

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sent, and it was defended by the servants; two savages were killed, but two others having set fire to the house, it was found impracticable to extinguish the flames, or to save their mistress who was burnt.

The Iroquois were likewise not long in being informed of the circumstances of the assassination committed on the person of their chief, and they were also assured that two of the murderers had been accused by the third, of having entertained a plan of poisoning all whom they could meet belonging to their nation. Much less than this cause was wanted to revive their hatred, which they resolved to carry to great extremities. It became necessary on the part of the French to adopt immediate measures, in order to avoid being involved in a war, from which unhappy consequences might ensue, and M. de Courcelles, who quickly discerned the importance of this affair, lost not a moment in going to Montreal, where he learnt that savages of several nations connected with the Iroquois and Mahingans were arriving.

He assembled them, so soon as he had disembarked, and gave them, by means of an interpreter, such strong reasons for their interest in remaining on good terms with the French, that many were convinced of this truth. He then caused to be brought forth the three soldiers who
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had assassinated the Iroquois chief, and made them to be executed in their presence. So prompt an administration of justice disarmed the Iroquois, who could not refrain from testifying marks of pity for their lamentable fate. The Governor-General added, that he would use every endeavour to bring to punishment the assassins of the Mahingans, and that they should be dealt with in the same manner as those unhappy persons whose end they had now witnessed. He indemnified the two nations for the merchandise of which they had been robbed, and the assembly broke up with mutual satisfaction.

This affair being thus happily terminated, there remained another of no less importance and delicacy. The Outaouais and the Iroquois had begun their incursions on each other, and it was to be apprehended that these sparks might produce a general flame. M. de Courcelles, who had always acted with energy and decision towards the savages, and who thereby accustomed them to respect him, declared to the two parties, that he would not suffer them to disturb the repose of the nations, and that with the same severity which he had exercised towards the Frenchmen in their presence, he would punish those who refused to accommodate themselves to reasonable conditions. He therefore desired that each should send to him their deputies, that he

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might weigh their grievances, and do justice to both.

He was obeyed: the chiefs of the nations resorted to Quebec. They who thought themselves aggrieved disclosed their complaints, and by the prudence of Garakonthie, an Iroquois chief, who had come on the part of his canton, and the firmness of the governor, peace was concluded to the satisfaction of every one.

Whilst peace was thus established in the colony, and measures were taken to preserve a good understanding between the French and savages, the north of Canada was ravaged by a contagious distemper, which completed, almost entirely, the depopulation of those extensive territories. The Attikamegues, among others, have since disappeared; and if there are any remains of them, they must be mixed with distant nations.

It was then that Tadoussac, where heretofore were to be seen at the periods fixed for traffick upwards of twelve hundred Indians, began to be almost abandoned; and Three Rivers became reduced to a similar situation. The Algonquins who frequented the latter place, retired to Cape Madelene, which is considerably lower down, on the borders of the St. Laurence. The French however maintained themselves at Three Rivers, but Tadoussac was long deserted.

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The cause of this mortality was the small pox, BOOK
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1670. which some years afterwards entirely swept off the inhabitants of the settlement at Sillery. Fifteen hundred savages were attacked by it, and not one of them survived.

The Hurons, although always mixed with the French, who had communicated to the savages this malady, lost fewer of their numbers than the others; and it was about this period that Father Chaumonot, having assembled them about three leagues from Quebec, towards the north-west, gave a beginning to the mission of Lorette, which is now a considerable village.

The inclination which savages entertain for warfare is such, that the most trifling cause of discontent arms them against each other; nor are they restrained even by a superior force, but through the fear of immediate punishment, or the prospect of advantage. Supplies from France, which had been promised, did not arrive, and the Governor supported his credit among the natives only by the ascendance which he well knew how to assume over them since the expedition of M. de Tracy against the Agniers. He could not, however, prevent the Tsonnonthonans, the most distant from the French habitations of all the Iroquois, from delivering themselves up to the powerful impulse which led them to make war.

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At a period when least expected, they attacked the Pouteouatamis ; M. de Courcelles was soon informed of it, and gave them to understand that he was much dissatisfied ; that, contrary to his instructions, and to the solemn promise which they had given him, they should presume to attack a people who were at peace, and who relied on the observance of treaties ; that he would not suffer them to disturb the tranquillity which had been effected by his endeavours ; that they should surrender into his hands the prisoners which they had made among the allies, and if they refused to send them safe and untouched, he would himself go and snatch them from their gripe, and would treat their canton as he had done that of Agnier.

A message so haughty tended to irritate the Tsonnonthouans ; they asked if all the people of this great continent, since missionaries were established among them, should become subjects of the French, and if they should be no longer permitted to avenge insults which they had received ? That the Iroquois cantons had made peace with Ononthio, but on that account they did not conceive they should become his vassals ; that they would rather perish than suffer the smallest encroachment on their liberty and independence ; and, it might be recollected, that they had more than once convinced the French, that they

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they were not allies who would be treated with haughtiness, nor enemies who ought to be despised.

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On reflecting, however, more maturely on the consequences of a rupture, for which they were not sufficiently prepared, the Tsonnonthouans held a council to decide on the part which they should act, and it was agreed that they should send to the Governor eight prisoners out of thirty-five, whom they had made among the Pouteouatamis. The General believed, or pretended to believe, that they had acquired no more, and he conceived it not prudent to push to extremities a nation with whom it was better to remain at peace.

Many of the Iroquois who had been converted to the Christian faith, left their country and joined the Hurons; their numbers became at length so considerable, that a plan was formed of separating them from the Huron Christians, and assigning them a settlement of their own, on a spot about four miles above the Rapids of St. Louis, and opposite to the south-west end of the island of Montreal.

The Algonquins also, who were sensible that they owed to the French their present enjoyment of tranquillity, entered into a close alliance with them, and M. Talon thought, that advantage of this favourable disposition ought to be embraced,

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in order to establish the rights of the crown in the most remote quarters of Canada; and that a person who had before visited the distant nations should be dispatched towards the north and the west, to persuade them to send deputies to a convenient place, where they might treat upon this subject.

Nicholas Perrot, a traveller, was the person chosen for this service; his apprehension was lively, and he had received some share of education. Necessity had obliged him to enter into the service of the Jesuits, by whom he had been employed in an intercourse with the greater part of the nations of Canada, and had learnt the languages of almost the whole. He was much esteemed by the savages, with whom he had practised every mode of conciliation and address, and had thereby acquired a strong influence over them. Perrot visited the nations in the vicinity of all the lakes, who sent deputies to the Falls of Saint Mary, where Lake Superior discharges itself into Lake Huron. The Sieur de Saint Lussion, sub-delegate of the Intendant of New France, arrived at that place in May, charged with a special commission to take possession of all the countries occupied by these people, and to place them under the protection of the King. After having delivered a discourse to the deputies to induce them to assent to his views, he gained their

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their compliance. A cross was then erected, on which were placed the arms of France, and after some religious ceremonies, feasting, and dancing, the assembly dispersed, and each returned to his country.

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The Hurons Tsonnontatez, weary of leading an erratic life, which was never agreeable to the genius of this nation, established themselves at Machilimakinac; they did not occupy any part of the island, but took possession of a point of land which advances towards the south, having opposite to it another point turned towards the north. These two points form the strait by which Lake Huron communicates with Lake Michigan. The Hurons were conducted thither by Father Marquette, who in his Memoirs confesses that there were in the vicinity many situations more eligible for a settlement, but assigns no reason for his choice of a spot which was much exposed to excessive colds, proceeding from the three immense lakes near which it stands being often agitated by piercing and tempestuous winds.

Towards the end of this year the Iroquois terminated successfully a war which they had made for several years against the Andastez, and the Chaouanons, their neighbours. Success and misfortune had been for a long time equally divided, but at length these two people were almost completely

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completely exterminated, and the victors, especially the Tsonnonthouans, incorporated in their cantons a great number of captives which they had made from both nations. Such has always been their policy, to repair at the expence of the enemy, the breaches which war has made in their population.

M. de Courcelles become more than ever convinced of the necessity of opposing a barrier to a restless people who had now no longer any occupation abroad, and whose power and reputation in arms, every day increased. He caused the chiefs of the cantons to be informed, that he had an affair of importance to communicate to them, and that he should forthwith ascend to Catarocony, and should expect to meet them there. They assembled in great numbers, and the General, after having bestowed on them every mark of kindness, and some valuable presents, declared to them that he had a design of building in this place a fort, to which they might conveniently resort to trade with the French.

They did not then perceive, that under a pretence of consulting their convenience, the Governor had in view no other end than to keep them in restraint, and to insure a depôt for his ammunition and provisions, in case he should be driven to resume hostilities. They then replied that they thought the project well adapted for
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the purpose he had assigned to them ; and immediate measures were taken for its execution, but time did not allow its being finished by M. de Courcelles. It has already been stated, that he had applied for his recall, and on his return to Quebec, he found the Count de Frontenac arrived to relieve him. He experienced no difficulty in persuading his successor of the utility of the object he had then in view, and in the following spring the new General went to Catarocony, and constructed the fort, which, as well as the lake near whose entrance it is situated, for a long time bore his name.

The departure of M. de Courcelles was a loss to the colony. If he possessed not all the brilliant qualities of his successor, he was likewise exempted from his defects, and was less under the influence of passion. His endeavours towards promoting the prosperity of the province were well directed and sincere. The prejudice which he bore to the missionaries and ecclesiastics, prevented him not from imparting to them on occasions when he found it necessary or useful, a portion of his confidence, and from authorising them in all the functions of their ministry. The judgment, firmness, and experience, with which he governed, rendered him beloved by the French, and respected by the natives. The tranquillity of Canada would probably

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probably not have been troubled had they who succeeded him entered into his views, and followed the traces which he had marked out.

Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, was a lieutenant-general in the King's army, and grandson to a knight of the orders, who during the war of the League was distinguished for his attachment to his lawful sovereign, and had merited the confidence of the Great Henry. The count possessed ideas still more elevated than his birth. Of a spirit at once lively, penetrating, solid, fruitful, cultivated; he was nevertheless susceptible of the most unjust prejudices, and capable of carrying them beyond the boundaries of reason. He wished to rule alone, and used every means of removing to a distance those who attempted to oppose him. Equal in valour and capacity, no person knew better how to assume over the people whom he governed, or with whom he was to treat, that ascendant which was necessary to retain them in duty and respect. He procured when he would, the friendship both of the French and the allies, and no officer ever treated his enemies with greater disdain. His plans for the aggrandisement of the colony were extensive and just, and he neglected no means to shew the government of France the advantages which might be reaped therefrom; but his prejudices sometimes impeded the execution

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tion of projects which depended on himself. It was difficult to reconcile the regularity of his conduct, and the piety of which he made profession, with that acrimony and asperity which he displayed towards those at whom he took umbrage, or whom he disliked ; and he gave grounds for concluding, on one of the most important occasions of his life, that ambition and the desire of preserving his authority had more influence over him than his zeal for the public welfare.

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M. Talon wishing to return to Europe, employed himself, during the time he remained, in a manner which caused his retreat from office to be regretted as a loss to the colony. After having established the authority of the King to the most distant parts that had hitherto been known, he projected new discoveries. It became generally believed from the reports of the savages, that there flowed to the westward of New France a great river, by some called Mechassipi, and by others Mississippi, whose course was directed neither to the north nor to the east. No doubtful expectation was therefore entertained that, by means of the river, a communication might be opened, either with the Gulph of Mexico, if it flowed to the southward, or with the Pacific Ocean, if it discharged itself to the west. Great advantages

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advantages were anticipated from either of those channels of navigation.

The Intendant was unwilling to take his departure from America until he should ascertain this important point. He entrusted the execution of this discovery to Father Marquette, who had already traversed a great portion of the country of Canada, and who was much respected by the savages. With him he associated in this enterprize a merchant of Quebec named Joliet, a man of experience and talents. They began their rout together from the Great Bay on Lake Michigan, embarked on the river *des Renards*, which there discharges itself, and ascended to near its source, notwithstanding the rapids which render its navigation perilous and difficult. They then quitted it, and after travelling for some distance by land, re-embarked in the *Ouiscouing*, steered towards the west, and at length reached the Mississippi, about the forty-second and a half degree of north latitude.

On the 17th of June they entered that celebrated river, of which, the magnitude as well as depth, appeared to them fully to correspond with the idea which the savages had given. They allowed themselves to be conducted by its current, which in that part is not very rapid, and they had not proceeded far when they met with some people

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people belonging to the nation of the Illinois. They discovered three villages of this people about nine miles below the place where the Missouri joins its waters to the Mississippi. These natives were much gratified at the sight of Frenchmen, having for a long time wished to form an alliance with their country, because the Iroquois were beginning to make incursions into their territory, and they dreaded the effects of a war, which they were unable singly to sustain. They therefore gave to the travellers the most cordial reception, and prevailed upon them to promise the exertion of their good offices with the Governor-General.

After having remained a short time among the Illinois, they pursued their journey, and descended the river to Akanfas, about the thirty-third degree of latitude. Perceiving that their stock of provisions was fast declining, reflecting also that with three or four men it would not be prudent to penetrate too far into a country of whose inhabitants they had no knowledge, and since they could no longer entertain a doubt that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Mexican Gulf, they directed their rout towards Canada, and ascended the great river, as far as that of the Illinois, which they entered. Having arrived at Chicagou on Lake Michigan, they separated. Father Marquette remained amongst the Miamis,

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and Joliet went to Quebec, to give a description of his voyage to M. Talon, whom he had not the good fortune to meet, as he had returned to France.

The violent conduct of M. de Frontenac embroiled him in dissensions with the ecclesiastics and missionaries, and soon after with M. du Chesneau, who had relieved M. Talon. The Abbé de Salinac Fenelon, who belonged to the seminary of St. Sulpice, was imprisoned, under pretence that he had preached against the Count, and had procured from the inhabitants of Montreal attestations in favour of M. Perrot their governor, whom the General had put under arrest.

A complaint was made against the Governor-General for having composed the superior council of people who were at his devotion, and by that means supporting his tyrannical purposes, had rendered himself sole arbiter of justice.

In order to put some restraint upon the Iroquois, it was conceived expedient, by those who had lately held the government of the colony, to engage savages by every means to join the new establishment near Montreal, on the *Prairie de la Magdeleine*. Father Fremin was entrusted with this charge, and acquitted himself of it with success. But it was soon discovered that the land there was not adapted to the grain which the savages

savages were accustomed to sow, and famine beginning to appear, the infant settlement was threatened with a general desertion.

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1672.

To prevent this evil, the missionaries requested of the Governor and Intendant another spot opposite the rapids of St. Louis. The Count Frontenac returned no answer to their petition; but M. du Chesneau, who conceived the retreat of the savages inevitable if they were refused their demand, granted them the land, and put them in possession. It was foreseen that the General would not approve of this measure, but it was not imagined that he would carry his dislike to such lengths as he did; in this affair he so far forgot himself, as to appear inexcusable to his best friends.

The Iroquois Christians remained however, at the rapids of St. Louis, and the court, who judged this settlement necessary, maintained them there, although contrary to the inclination of M. de Frontenac. What had principally induced these profelytes to forsake their country, and to search an asylum in the French colonies, was, that the Dutch having taken Monrattre, and reconquered all New York, had threatened to drive the missionaries, if they did not of themselves retire, from the canton of Agnier. The reasons assigned for this measure were, that they

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were afraid lest the Iroquois should unite themselves to the French by the bond of religion.

M. du Chesneau suffered less from the haughtiness of the General than the ecclesiastics and missionaries, and their disagreement took place on the subject of the superior council, of which that officer wished to assume the whole authority, and even appropriated to himself the functions and the title of president. The King, in order to put a stop to these differences, which tended to kindle the flames of disorder in all parts of the colony, because these two chiefs had each his partisans, made an ordinance on the fifth of June, regulating all matters of dissension in such a manner as gave ground to hope that every vain pretension on either side might cease. It was there decided by his Majesty, that the Governor-General should have the first place in the council, the Bishop the second, and the Intendant the third, but that the latter should demand the opinions, collect the votes, and pronounce the decrees.

The Count de Frontenac was, however, still dissatisfied, and under various pretences, treated all those extremely ill who, in this point, or in any other, opposed his inclinations. He even embraced the strong measure of exiling, by his own authority, the Procureur-General, and all the counsellors; he came to an open rupture with the
Intendant,

Intendant, and proceeded to declare, that he was sorry he had not put him in prison immediately after the departure of the vessels, by which means he would have held him in confinement two whole years, because the lapse of that time was necessary before an order from the court for his release could arrive.

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A conduct so unjustifiable could not long be concealed from the Sovereign ; but it appears that his Majesty was not made acquainted with some of the extravagances of this General, who had at court powerful relations and protectors. Two letters were on this occasion written by the King's order, the one addressed to the Count de Frontenac, the other to M. du Chesneau. In that to the latter he remarked, that he might have avoided all the violence of which he complained, had he followed the orders given, and satisfied himself by explaining his reasons to the Governor, and laying them before the whole council. In the letter to the Count de Frontenac, his Majesty, after reproaching him, that by his pretensions, he disturbed the repose of New France, added, that in the minutes of the council, by wishing to qualify himself as chief and president, he had acted in express contradiction to the edict concerning this establishment. That he should therefore abandon this pretension, and content himself with the office

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and title of Governor and Lieutenant-General.

Neither did he desire that the title of President of the Council should be given to the Intendant, but that he should possess all the functions of that office. He prohibited the Governor from keeping the minutes of council in his house, from collecting the voices, and from pronouncing the decrees. All these functions belonged to the situation of President, which was attached to that of Intendant. In that letter also, the King renewed his commands on the subject of the vagabonds, who were usually named *Courcurs de Bois*, and declared to the General, that on this head he would receive no excuse, persuaded that to him alone it belonged to stop the progress of such a disorder, which ruined and depopulated the country, and annihilated the commerce.

Another subject yet more important was the cause of disagreement between the Governor-General and the bishop. The irregularities and fatal consequences produced among the Christian savages by the commerce of spirits, has already been mentioned. It had for several years been renewed, and produced the same effects, which had already occasioned much regret to all those who concerned themselves in the welfare of these people.

The bishop, the clergy, and the missionaries, made loud complaints against the use of an article

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ticle in traffic, whose tendency became so destructive. But means had been taken to persuade the council of the King, that the distribution of spirits among the natives, was the most powerful mode of attaching them to the interests of the French; that the abuses concerning which the ecclesiastics made so much noise, if they were not altogether imaginary, were at least much exaggerated, and that their zeal on this point served them only as a pretence to persecute and procure the recal of those who prevented them from assuming the chief power in the province.

1676.

The frequent representations of this evil, however, at length attracted the notice of the King, and a decree of the council was promulgated, ordering that a committee, composed of twenty of the most respectable inhabitants of New France, should give their opinion concerning the traffic in question. The reasons on one side and on the other being transmitted, it was his Majesty's pleasure that the archbishop of Paris, and Father de la Chaise, the King's confessor, should give their definitive decision upon the subject; and each, after a conference with the bishop of Quebec, who was then in France, declared that the traffic of strong liquors in the habitations of the savages ought to be prohibited under the most severe penalties. This judgment was confirmed by an ordinance of the King, and was

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transmitted to M. de Frontenac with strict injunctions for its rigid execution.

1676.

The departure of M. Talon, and the death of Father Marquette, had for some time excluded all thoughts of the Mississippi, and no measures were taken to complete the discovery. At length Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Sale, who had passed some years in America, with a view of increasing his fortune, or of undertaking some enterprise, from the execution of which he might derive credit and honour, conceived that it would be a favourable opportunity of attaining his object, if he entered into the designs of M. Talon respecting the further discovery of that great river, and of the country which it watered.

He was born at Rouen, of a family in good circumstances, but having spent many years among the Jesuits, he derived no inheritance from his relations. He possessed what was still more valuable, an improved understanding, and an ardent desire to distinguish himself, with a sufficient strength of genius and courage to urge him on to success. His constancy and firmness in surmounting obstacles were not inferior to the fertility of his mind in finding resources to remedy the evils arising from misfortune. But he was a stranger to the art of procuring from others affection and esteem, and of assuming a suitable demeanour to those of whose assistance he

he might be in want ; the moment he was possessed of authority he exercised it with severity and haughtiness. With such defects in his character he could not be fortunate, neither was he.

The first project which he formed, and which had induced him to cross the seas, was to search for a passage to Japan and China, by the north, or by the west of Canada. He was engaged in this occupation when Joliel arrived at Montreal with the news of his discovery. Far from doubting, when he had conversed with that traveller, that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulph of Mexico, he further indulged a hope, that in ascending this river towards the north, he might discover what had been the object of his researches ; but at all events the discovery of its mouth would lead him to something that might establish his reputation and fortune. He had the good fortune to gain the favourable opinion of the Count de Frontenac, whose inclinations he had sedulously studied ; he opened to him his views, and the General assured him of his aid and protection. The first object of his attention was to procure funds for the expedition, to get himself invested with a character that would give him authority, and to obtain a force sufficient to command respect from the savages. La Sale had, at his leisure, made all these reflections, and his plan was already

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ready prepared. He well knew how much the Count de Frontenac had at heart every means of strengthening the port at Catarocony; he proposed to him to augment the fortifications, to place there a garrison capable of defending it against any enterprises of the Iroquois, to establish inhabitants there, that, in case of necessity, men and provisions might be had from thence, and also to construct barks at that place for navigating lake Ontario.

Nothing could be better conceived, as far as regarded utility and convenience, and the General was of opinion that La Sale should make a voyage to France, and lay his design before the minister. On his arrival at court he was informed of the death of M. Colbert, and delivered to the Marquis de Seignelay, a letter from the Count de Frontenac; he had afterwards several interviews with him and the minister, who discerned his genius and talents, obtained for him from the King every thing of which he stood in need. His Majesty bestowed on him letters of nobility, granted him the seignory of Catarocony and the government of the fort, upon condition that he would cause it to be rebuilt with stone; and he further invested him with all the powers necessary to carry on a free commerce, and to continue the discoveries which had been begun.

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The Prince de Conti, to whom he found access, supported his interest with the King, and contributed much to obtain for him those marks of royal favour which have been mentioned. The prince recommended to him, as a companion in his travels, the Chevalier Tonti, and this La Sale regarded as an additional instance of kindness; for he found that gentleman ever much attached to his interests, and received from him the most signal services.

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On the 14th of July La Sale and Tonti embarked at Rochelle with thirty men, among whom were pilots and workmen, and arrived at Quebec on the 15th of September. They remained but a short time at that place, because the approach of winter was not distant, and they wished to arrive at Catarocony before the end of autumn. They took with them Father Louis Hennepin, a Flemish recolèt, who afterwards accompanied them on the greatest part of their voyages. The first care of M. La Sale on his arrival at Catarocony was to re-build the fort of stone, which was before composed only of stakes: he at the same time constructed a barque; and these labours were executed with a dispatch which impressed a favourable idea of the activity of that officer. Conducting his barque to Niagara, he there traced a fort, and after having travelled on foot through all the canton of Tsonnonthonau,

1678.

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and made during the rest of the winter a number of other journies, with no other object in view but that of the fur trade, he returned by land to Catarocony, and sent back a second time his barque to Niagara, loaded with provisions and merchandise.

In the following year he filled his magazine at Niagara, and visited the different savage nations, with whom he wished to establish a trade, and from whom he hoped to acquire some information relative to his intended discoveries. On the other hand, the Chevalier de Tonti was occupied in the same manner.

Towards the middle of August, the barque which had been constructed on lake Erie being in a condition for sailing, La Sale therein embarked forty men, among whom were three rocolèts, and took the rout to Michilimakinac. He experienced on the voyage a considerable storm, which tended to disgust a part of his people, and many even deserted; but the Chevalier de Tonti, who had taken another rout, having met them, was fortunate enough to engage almost the whole to follow him. Tonti descended to the Illinois, and La Sale returned to Catarocony. The nation on whom he chiefly relied for the success of his expedition, was the Illinois, at that time very numerous, and who occupied many posts where convenient entrepôts might be established,

established, between Canada and the Mississippi. It was to secure the favourable opinion of these savages, that Tonti had advanced on that quarter, and he would without trouble have succeeded in engaging them in his interests; but as he was then attended by very few followers, he could not prevent his new allies from receiving almost in his presence a new check from the Iroquois, who not having been able to prejudice them against the French, wished, previous to an open declaration of war, to put them out of a condition to help them; they were surprised, and great numbers were cut in pieces.

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1678.

La Sale there found himself in a discouraging situation. He had much to apprehend from the Iroquois, whom he expected to meet in every part of his journey. The Outaouais were suspected; on many of the people under his orders he could not depend, some of whom attempted more than once to deprive him of life. It was said that they even went further; that they solicited his allies to rise against him, and in order to urge them to act that perfidious part, they were not ashamed to insinuate, that in conjunction with the Iroquois he had formed a plan for their destruction.

Under these disadvantageous circumstances he arrived among the Illinois, and soon perceived that their conduct towards him was somewhat changed;

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changed; he was even apprehensive that this whole nation would rise against him, and he could not rely on any of his followers. He betrayed, however, no symptoms of disquiet; on the contrary, he assumed a tone of firmness and resolution. By that means he commanded respect, but he too much endeavoured to make himself feared: this was always his principal defect, and the chief occasion of his misfortunes.

1679.

Towards the end of this year he lost a part of his people, among whom were some of those on whom he most relied. They had formed a design to poison him, as well as all those whom they believed most attached to his interests. They were discovered, and could embrace no other measure than to save themselves by flight. La Sale replaced them by a band of young Illinois, whom he found well inclined to accompany him. He detached a person named Dacan with Father Hennepin to ascend the Mississippi above the river Illinois, and if possible to discover its source.

1680.

These two travellers set out from the fort of Crevecoeur on the 28th of February, and entering the Mississippi ascended to the forty-fourth degree of latitude: they were here impeded by a lofty fall of water which occupies the whole breadth of the river, and to which Father Hennepin gave the

the name of the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua. BOOK
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They soon afterwards were captured by the Sioux, who retained them for a long time as prisoners, but treated them with great lenity. At length being released by the arrival of some Frenchmen from Canada, they descended to the mouth of the river, and returned to Fort Creve-cœur, without any circumstance worthy of remark having occurred. It was, however, much doubted whether they had performed this journey, and it was supposed that they only returned to the fort by the same course they had ascended.

After the departure of Father Hennepin and Dacan, new difficulties arose, which contributed to the detention of M. de la Sale at the fort of Creve-cœur until the month of November, and finally obliged him to return to Catarocony. On his way he discovered on the borders of the river Illinois, which he was ascending, a spot which appeared advantageous for the construction of a new fort; he traced the plan, left the execution of it to M. de Tonti, and continued his journey. The work had scarcely been begun, when it was learnt that the French who had been left at Fort Creve-cœur had mutinied. Tonti went thither and found only seven or eight men, the rest having made their escape with every thing they could carry away.

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1680.

Not long after, the Iroquois, to the amount of six hundred warriors, appeared in view of the Illinois settlements, and this irruption having augmented the distrust of that people towards the French, the Chevalier Tonti found himself in a difficult situation. The part which he took was to become a mediator between the two savage nations, and employed with success in this negotiation two recollets who remained with him at Fort Crevecoeur. The peace was of short duration, and the Iroquois, become more haughty by the fear which they seemed to inspire, soon recommenced their hostilities.

Hitherto the Iroquois had not openly declared themselves against these Frenchmen; at length they undertook to drive them from the river of the Illinois, and the Chevalier Tonti, having had advice that an army of these barbarians was coming to invade the Fort of Crevecoeur, thought it most prudent not to wait till their arrival, and he accordingly retired.

M. de la Sale was not informed of this retreat, and was much surprised in the spring of the following year to find Fort Crevecoeur abandoned. He there posted a new garrison, sent workmen to complete the new fort which he had traced the year before, and went to Michilimakinac, where Tonti with his party had not long before arrived. They departed from thence together

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together in their way to Cataraugus, and three months being spent in making new levies of Frenchmen, and in collecting provisions, La Sale took the rout of the Illinois with all his people, and found his two forts in the state he had left them.

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1680.

He again descended the river of the Illinois, and on the 2d of February reached the Mississippi. On the 4th of March he took possession, with the usual ceremonies, of the country of the Arkansas, and on the 9th of April he discovered the mouth of the river. This important point being attained, and the course of one of the largest rivers in the universe gained to France by possession, to which no earlier pretensions could be advanced, La Sale re-imbarked on the 11th of the same month. On the 15th of May he was taken sick, and he detached the Chevalier Tonti, to whom he recommended it to endeavour as quickly as possible to reach Michilimackinac: he did not himself return to Quebec till the following year. Some months after his arrival he embarked for France.

1682.

There had taken place in the colony, during the absence of La Sale, considerable changes, and men were not so favourably disposed towards him, as when he commenced his discoveries.

The

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The misunderstanding which had happened between the Governor-General and the Intendant, had proceeded to such extremities, that it was no longer possible they could live together in the same colony.

The court, it is certain, attributed to the Count de Frontenac the greatest share of blame, but notwithstanding the mildness of M. du Cheneau's character, he possessed not a sufficient share of good nature to endure the haughty and imperious conduct of that General, although it had been recommended to him to yield upon occasions. For want of a sufficient self-command, to enable him to regard with unconcern the ill humour of the General, he sometimes partook of the same haughtiness of disposition, and it was therefore become necessary that both should be recalled.

It has been before stated, that the tithes of the clergy were fixed at a twenty-sixth part of the produce, and that they should be paid in grain. From the increase of the colony, it became necessary to establish new curacies. It was then requisite that the tithes should belong to the curés, and not, as heretofore, to the seminary. These two points were fixed by a royal edict, five years after the erection of the church of Quebec into a bishopric. This edict confirmed also the provi-

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sional regulation of the superior council respecting the tithes, but it added that if they were found insufficient for the support of the curés, the council should provide them with an addition, to be supplied by the inhabitants and holders of estates. This, however, did not take place, because the King granted from his domain seven thousand six hundred livres a-year, to aid the subsistence of the clergy.

M. Le Fevre de la Barre was nominated Governor-General, and M. de Meules Intendant. In the instructions framed on this occasion, it was specially recommended to the first, by the King, to entertain a friendly correspondence with the Count de Blenac, Governor-General of the American islands, for it was then conceived, that the two colonies might, from the various articles of their produce, derive advantages by a reciprocal commerce. It was strongly recommended to M. de Meules to be upon good terms with the Governor; and, if in the exercise of his functions, that officer should adopt measures prejudicial to the general welfare, he would be satisfied with making to him representations thereupon, reminding him of the instructions he had received; if this was without effect, to take no further steps, but allow the Governor to proceed as he thought proper. He was, however, to render an account to the council, of any

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measure which he conceived of hurt to the interests of the state.

New France had been for many years in a state of great confusion, and was now threatened with a war capable of re-plunging her into her original misfortunes. Her strength also seemed daily to diminish; for, by the last returns of the population, which had been made two years before, there were only eight thousand five hundred and fifteen persons, without comprehending Acadia.

Many circumstances had contributed to draw a-new the Iroquois into a war with the French. Since New York had become an English settlement, Colonel Dongan, who was Governor, had taken much pains to afford to the Iroquois merchandise at a cheaper rate than could be supplied by the French, because the company, which then carried on the exclusive commerce for peltry, had a preferable choice of a fourth of the beaver skins, of a tenth of other furs and of leather, and bought the remainder at a low rate. Some other causes of mutual discontent had taken place, when an unforeseen accident tended to evince the unfavourable disposition of the Iroquois with regard to the French. A Captain of the Tsonnonthouans had been killed at Michilimakinac by an Illinois, with whom he had some private quarrel. According to the policy of the savages,

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savages, the first marks of resentment of such as have been injured fall neither on the murderer nor on the nation to which he belongs, but upon the actual possessors of the place where the offence has been committed. It belonged then to the Kiskacons, a nation of the Outaouais, in whose territories the Iroquois chief had fallen, to make satisfaction to his nation. M. de Frontenac had dispatched to the Cantons a confidential person, to endeavour to gain a suspension of hostilities until he should have time to oblige the Kiskacons to make them an atonement.

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He at the same time invited them to send to Catarocony, where he would go in person, deputies, with whom he might treat of this affair, and of all other subjects of complaint which might be stated on the one side or the other. A few days after, he received a message from Onnontagué, by which he was informed, that these savages exacted, that he should advance as far as the entrance of the river Chouaguen, which discharges itself into lake Ontario on the south.

The General replied to the person who gave him the information, that he would never consent to such a measure, because this acquiescence would increase the insolence of the Iroquois, and were it even not derogatory to his dignity, he could not undertake such a voyage with satis-

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faction or safety to his person, without incurring a very great expence. He had not yet seen the Kiskacons, and knew not what resolution they might adopt. He concluded by requesting the author of the letter containing the foregoing information, to use all his endeavours to persuade the Onnontagués to assume sentiments of greater moderation and respect.

He would abate nothing of the haughtiness with which, like M. Courcelles, he had always treated the savages. He publicly declared that he would take under his protection the Outaouais, and all his old allies, and he permitted the Kiskacons to construct new forts, in order to defend themselves should they be attacked.

Some of the Iroquois, gained by their missionary, relaxed so far in their original demand as to consent to assemble at Catarocony, but M. Frontenac then declared, that he would go no further than Montreal, and that if the Iroquois meant to communicate with him, he would there wait for them until the month of June; but at the expiration of that period he would return to Quebec. This reply enraged the Iroquois, who on their part asserted, that they would treat with the Governor-General only at Chouaguén.

Some time afterwards the General making a visit to the island of Montreal, met with the Sieur Forêt, major of the fort of Catarocony, who brought

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brought with him five of the Iroquois. They were deputies of the five cantons, who were instructed to assure their father Ononchio, that they were disposed to be upon good terms with him, and with his allies.

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M. de Frontenac gave them an audience on the 11th of September, and on the following day replied, that it rested not with him that a good understanding was not established between the two nations; but, as the Illinois were excepted from the peace, which the cantons would maintain with the allies, and that it was confessed, that they were preparing to make a vigorous war against that people, the General made them some valuable presents, to induce them to lay aside their determination.

Scarcely had they left Montreal, when other deputies arrived, on the part of the Kiskacons, the Hurons of Michilimakinac, and the Miamis. The General omitted no argument to persuade the first to satisfy the Iroquois on the subject of the murder which has been related. They answered, that they had charged the Hurons to present belts on their part, which was all they conceived themselves obliged to perform, being not the authors of that deed. But the Hurons, willing to embroil the parties, far from acquitting themselves of their commission, had even increased the umbrage of the Iroquois against them.

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them. In vain did the General insist on engaging them to adopt different measures, for the preservation of peace; all that he could obtain was a promise that they would remain on the defensive.

Affairs were in this state when M. M. de la Barre and De Meules arrived at Quebec; they even learnt that the deputation of Teganissorens, one of the chiefs who had been at Montreal, had no other motive on the part of the cantons but to amuse the French; and that war was begun against the Illinois. Thus the Iroquois were soon expected to be seen in arms in the middle of the colony. On the other hand, it was soon perceived that the friends of the Count de Frontenac would not find in his successor the same protection they had enjoyed; and it appeared that M. de la Barre was already prejudiced against the Sieur de la Sale, concerning whom he made too early a declaration not to give reason for judging, that he had conceived an unfavourable opinion of that traveller, without having considered his general conduct.

Such is the lot of those characters, whom a mixture of great virtues and great defects draws forth from the ordinary sphere of human life. Their passions urge them to the commission of faults, and if they execute what is beyond the reach of others, their enterprises receive not general

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neral approbation; their success excites the jealousy of such as remain in obscurity, and should it be useful to some, it may be hurtful to others; the one party exaggerates their merit, the other decries them beyond the bounds of moderation. Hence the different delineations which are drawn bear no resemblance to the living character; but, as hatred and malediction not unfrequently operate more powerfully than gratitude and friendship, the enemies of the *Sieur de la Sale* contributed more to disfigure, than his friends to embellish his portrait.

Letters had been written to the court by *M. de la Barre* and others, wherein *La Sale* was mentioned in very unfavourable terms; but his cause was brought to a tribunal already impressed with an opinion of his talents and merit, and his presence in France effaced, in part, the representation which had been made against his conduct. The minister did not believe him to be altogether exempted from the faults with which he had been charged, but weighing the utility of his talents, he thought it necessary to employ him. He gave him some advice respecting his future conduct, but unhappily for *La Sale*, he forgot, or profited not by the suggestions of the minister.

M. de la Barre had not long assumed the reins of the government, when he perceived that New France was placed in the most delicate conjuncture.

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ture. He therefore thought it expedient to convoke an assembly, composed not only of the Bishop and Intendant, but of the principal officers of the army, many members of the superior council, the chiefs of subordinate jurisdiction, the superior of the seminary, and of the missions, and he requested the whole to give him their advice respecting the causes and nature of the evils which had brought the colony to its present state, and respecting the remedies which ought to be applied, in order to restore it to prosperity.

It was there observed to the General, that the object of the Iroquois was to draw to themselves all the commerce of Canada, to transport it to the English and the Dutch at New York, and consequently the two latter nations ought to be considered in a hostile view, especially, as for a considerable time they had endeavoured privately to excite the cantons to come to an open rupture with the French; that these barbarians, to avoid having too powerful a force against them, had studied only to amuse them, whilst they were sedulously occupied in debauching the allies, or in destroying, one after the other, all those whom they were unable to detach from the French interests; that they had begun by the Illinois, and that it was of the first moment to prevent these people from being lost by their efforts; but that

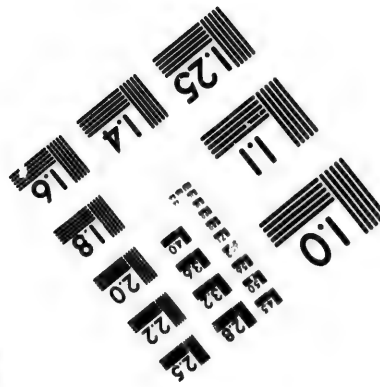
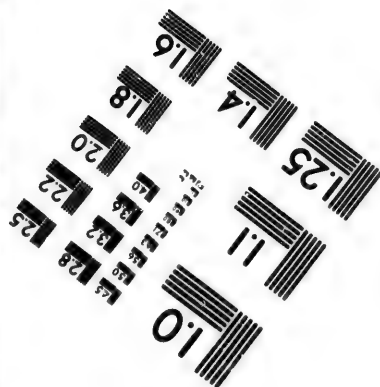
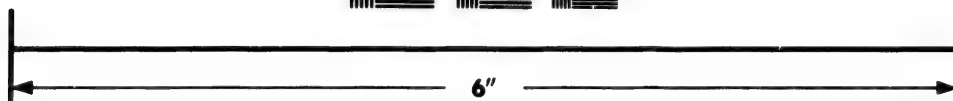
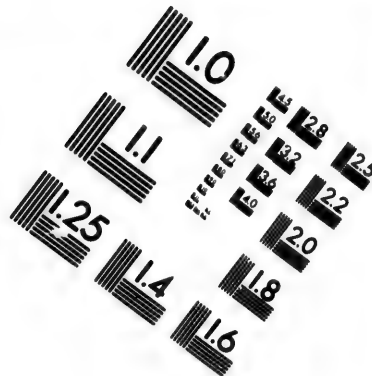
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the attempt to assist them would be attended with difficulty ; that the colony could furnish at the utmost a thousand men fit to undergo the fatigues of campaigning, and that even for this number, the labours of husbandry must in part be suspended.

BOOK
III.
1682.

They further represented that, previous to taking arms, magazines well furnished with provisions and ammunition, ought to be established in situations the nearest that could be found to the enemy's country, for the reason that the march should be undertaken not merely to strike terror into the Iroquois, a measure which had contented M. de Tracy, but, to reduce them to a situation that they might be no longer able to disquiet the colony ; it would therefore be necessary to remain a considerable time in this country, or on its environs ; that the fort of Catarocony was well calculated for this design, because from that post an army might, in forty-eight hours, fall on the canton of Tfonnonthouan, though most remote of all ; that three or four barques on lake Ontario were required to transport provisions, ammunition, and the number of men that might be wanted for that service ; that it was into the borders of that canton that war must be carried ; but that previous to engaging in such an enterprize, two or three hundred soldiers must be requested of the King, part of whom must





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must be stationed in the forts of Catarocony and Galette, to guard the head of the colony, whilst all the other forces should be employed beyond its limits; that his Majesty ought likewise to be supplicated to send into the colony a thousand or fifteen hundred labourers, to cultivate the lands in the absence of the land-holders; also funds for the magazines, and for the construction of the barques; that to engage the King to incur this expence, it would be requisite to acquaint him of the urgent necessity of the war, of the inability of the colony to support it, and, above all, to represent to him that the want of reinforcements from France incited the contempt of the savages; whereas, if those people knew of the arrival of French troops, the Iroquois would perhaps be overawed, and the allies would not hesitate to lend a strong arm against a nation, of whose power they were in continual dread, but over whom they would believe themselves certain of triumphing, if they beheld the French in a condition powerfully to second them.

The result of this deliberation was drawn up and transmitted to the court. It was there approved, and the King gave orders for the immediate embarkation of two hundred soldiers. He wrote to the Governor-General, and gave him advice that Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, had received an express order from the

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King of Great Britain to entertain a friendly
intercourse with the French, to which he
doubted not that officer would conform.

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1682.

During the government of M. Frontenac, the
recolèts, by the interest of that officer, obtained
from the King permission to construct a chapel,
notwithstanding the opposition of the bishop,
who, in concert with the Jesuits, made use of
every means in his power to prevent their being
allowed that indulgence.

BOOK IV.

Expedition of M. de la Barre against the Iroquois.—Distress of his Army.—Conference at the Bay of Famine.—M. Denonville Governor-General.—Manner in which the Traffic for Furs was conducted.—Affairs of the Clergy.—Of the Law.—Iroquois Chiefs seized at Cato-rocony, and conducted to France for Galley-Slaves.—Expedition against the Iroquois.—Construction of a Fort at Niagara.—That Fort, on Account of an infectious Malady, abandoned and destroyed.—Treason and Policy of a Huron Chief called the Rat.—Character of the Marquis de Denonville.

BOOK
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1683.

M. De la Barre made preparations for war against the Iroquois, without losing sight of the hope of an accommodation with these barbarians, disposed to treat with them if he could do it with honour. Being informed that they were on the point of marching, to the number of fifteen hundred men, against the Miamis and Outaouais, although they had published that their destination was against the Illinois, he dispatched a confidential person, who arrived at the great village of the Onnontagués, the rendezvous of the warriors, on the evening of the day

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The envoy was well received, and had not much difficulty to draw from the Iroquois a promise to suspend the expedition, and to send deputies to Montreal in order there to treat with the General; but it was soon after discovered, that they had spoken thus only to quiet the French. They affirmed, that their deputies should be at Montreal before the end of the month of June. But in the month of May, M. de la Barre had advice that seven hundred men of the cantons of Onnontagué, of Goyogouin, and of Onneyoùth, were on their march to attack the Hurons, the Miamis, and the Outaouais; and that the Tsonnonthouans, with some Goyogouins, intended towards the end of summer to spread themselves in troops throughout the French habitations.

The General, in imparting these news to the minister, acquainted him that the project had been formed at the instigation of the English, who in their negotiations made use of French fugitives, whose desertion they encouraged. From what he could judge of the present disposition of the Iroquois cantons, he conceived that it became a measure of necessity, either totally to abandon Canada, or to make an effort to destroy at least the Tsonnonthouans and the Goyogouins,

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ins, the most animated against the French, and who could easily lead two thousand men into the field. He therefore solicited him to engage the King to send as early as possible four hundred men, that on the beginning of August at the farthest he might enter into the enemy's territory with a force sufficient to reduce these barbarians to reason; but that he believed it necessary, first of all, to obtain from the Duke of York, to whom New York belonged, an order for the governor of that province not to throw any obstacles in the way of his expedition.

The Iroquois found it more to their advantage to trade with the English and Dutch than with the French, because at New York beaver skins were subject to no duties; the traffic was free to every one, and the purchasers derived from thence more profit; which placed them in a situation to afford their merchandise at a lower rate. As the cantons however were not inclined to employ open force but in the event of coming to extremities, and as in reality they dreaded the French more than they appeared to do, deputies from the five cantons arrived at Montreal in August, but they were charged to make only vague protestations of a sincere attachment, and nothing further could be drawn from them.

Many circumstances concurred to render this embassy suspected, and it was believed that the cantons

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cantons wished to gain time, and to throw the general off his guard. He however gave a favourable reception to the deputies, treated them with kindness, and sent them home loaded with presents.

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A few months had scarcely elapsed, when fourteen Frenchmen, who were proceeding with merchandise to the Illinois, were attacked by the Iroquois and pillaged of every thing they had, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand livres.

M. de la Barre was then resolved to carry on a war. He had received intelligence that the cantons were making great preparations, and had sent ambassadors to the savages of Virginia, to ascertain that they should not be attacked from that quarter, whilst they were occupied against the French. The general believed that he could with greater facility and less risque anticipate the design of these barbarians, by carrying war into their territory, than to drive them from the colony if once they had got a footing there. But as he had received very small supplies from France, and as those which he still expected could not soon arrive, he was obliged to have recourse to the allied savages.

M. de la Durantaye, who commanded at Michilimakinac, and M. de Luth his lieutenant, who was at the bay on lake Michigan, had in-

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structions to acquaint the nations in these quarters, that Ononthio was about to march against the Iroquois; that he would begin with the Tsonnonthouans, and that he invited his allies to Niagara, where he should arrive about the middle of August with his whole forces. The greater part of these people were not less interested than the French in the destruction of the Iroquois, who were inclined to usurp a species of domination over this extensive part of the continent, and to render themselves the sole masters of its commerce. It was, however, with difficulty that the levies were made. When M. Durantaye arrived at Niagara with five hundred warriors, he had the misfortune not to find the French at that place; and it required much address to satisfy the savages whom he had led thither.

The General having made his preparations, set out from Quebec on his way to Montreal, where the troops were ordered to assemble. He sent, during his march, a message to Colonel Dongan, to inform him, that if he was inclined to take revenge for the blood of twenty-six Englishmen of Maryland, who had been killed by the Tsonnonthouans during the preceding winter, he might join his army; he at least firmly relied on the promises he had given him in consequence of the Duke of York's orders, that

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that he would use no means to weaken the effects of an expedition so just; that he was taking measures to repress the insolence of a nation which would not spare the English if it had nothing to fear on the part of the French.

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The General took another precaution which ought to have insured the success of his enterprise; this was to cause a division in the cantons, that he might not have to encounter the whole at the same time. For this purpose he sent belts to the Onnontagués, to the Agniers, and to the Onneyouths, to engage them to remain neuter between him and the Tsonnonthouans, who alone had offended him, and against whom he was marching. Having taken other measures of security, he proceeded with seven hundred Canadians, a hundred and thirty soldiers, and two hundred savages, formed into three divisions. He left Quebec on the 9th of July, and arrived at Montreal on the 21st of the same month. As he proceeded from thence towards Catarocony, he learnt that the other cantons had obliged that of the Tsonnonthouans to accept of their mediation with the French, and demanded the Sieur le Moyne to negotiate this important affair. He likewise had intelligence, that the canton against which he was marching had put all their provisions in a place of security, and that the war would have no other effect than to unite the

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whole nation against the French. But if he would be contented with satisfaction from this canton, the inhabitants were well disposed to grant it, and would suspend all hostilities against the allies. Since however, it was said, they made these advances, it was not because they believed they had much to fear, for the Governor of New York had made them an offer of four hundred horsemen, and as many infantry if they should be obliged to support a war.

There was no question, that if Colonel Dongan had fulfilled his offer, it would have been accepted of, and that M. de la Barre would thereby have found himself in great difficulties; but he required too high a price for the assistance which he proposed to lend, and had spoken in too high a tone to a nation naturally fierce, and which had never loved nor esteemed the English. This Governor had begun by erecting in the country of the Iroquois the arms of the Duke of York; he afterwards sent to prohibit the cantons, on the part of this prince, whom he stiled their Sovereign, from treating with the French, without his participation. He also enjoined them to profit by the aids which he would afford to deliver themselves from the tyranny of the French.

This commission was as ill executed as it was imprudent. The envoy addressed himself to the Iroquois

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Iroquois in the stile of a master, and asked them if they would not obey the Governor of New York, who represented their lawful Sovereign? This mode of procedure shocked the Onnontagués. One of their chiefs immediately called on Heaven to witness the injury which had been offered to the whole nation, and of the unjustifiable conduct of the English ambassador, who wished to embroil the country in war. He then addressed him in a tone which ought to have made him sensible of his imprudence, and of the indignation which it had excited in all present. He spoke thus :

“ Know, that Onnontagué places himself between Ononthio, his father, and the Tsonnonthouan, his brother, to prevent them from fighting. I was willing to believe that Corlar* would have stood in my rear, and would have called to me, *Courage, Onnontagué, suffer not the father and son to kill each other.* I am surprised that his envoy should hold a very different language, and should endeavour to prevent me from stopping the arm of the one and of the other. I cannot believe that Corlar possesses so malevolent a spirit. Ononthio is pleased to honour me by coming to my cabin to make peace ;

* The name given by the savages to the Governor of New York.

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shall the son dishonour his father? Corlar, attend to my words. Ononthio has adopted me for his son; he entertained me at Montreal, and he habited me in that quality; we then planted the tree of peace, and we have also planted it at Onnontagué, whither my father has usually sent his ambassadors. I have two arms, one of which I extend towards Montreal, the other to Corlar, who has long been my brother. Ononthio has been for ten years my father; Corlar is my brother, because such is my wish; but neither of them is my master. He who created the world gave me this land which I occupy—I am free—I respect both—but neither has a right to command me, and no person ought to take offence that I prevent the earth from being troubled. I therefore will not delay to meet my father, since he has taken the trouble to come to my door, and since he can have nothing but reasonable propositions to discuss.”

It appears by this discourse, that the *Sieur le Moyne* had arrived in the canton before the envoy of the Governor of New York. He was, however, well received, being known and respected by these savages, and restored to them a prisoner whom he had conducted from Quebec.

From the bad quality of the provisions, *M. de la Barre's* army was reduced to a most deplorable

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able state. This evil increased to such a degree, that there was reason to fear he would be obliged to retire without waiting for the Iroquois deputies; this would have exposed the French to the ridicule of the savages, and perhaps have induced them to alter their intention. They met M. de la Barre, who was encamped on the borders of lake Ontario, on the north side, in a small bay, five or six leagues to the eastward of their river, to which, the extreme want they had suffered for fifteen days caused them to give the name of the Bay of Famine.

In all their negotiations these savages make use of collars, or belts of wampum, which are two or three feet in length, and six inches in breadth, ornamented with small grains of porcelain, made from shells found on the coast of Virginia. No transaction can be entered into without the intervention of these belts, which serve as contracts and obligations among them, and supply the absence of writing. They preserve sometimes for an age, those they have received from their neighbours, and, as each has a distinctive mark, the sachems or ancients are acquainted with the time and place at which they were given, and what they import. They frequently use them after the lapse of many years, in the arrangement of new negotiations.

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The savages seated themselves on the ground in their usual mode, forming an extensive ring, several of the French being indiscriminately mixed with them; M. de la Barre placed himself in a chair in the front of his tent, and his interpreter delivered in his name the following harangue.

“The King, my master, informed that the five Iroquois nations have, for a considerable time, interrupted the tranquillity which prevailed, has commanded me to march into this country, followed by an escort, and to send Akoueffan * to the village of the Onnontagués, to invite the principal chiefs to approach my camp. The intention of this grand Monarch is, that we should smoke, you and I together in the great calumet of peace, provided that you promise, in the name of Tsonnonthouans, Goyogouins, Onnontagués, Onneyouths, and Agniers, to make entire reparation and satisfaction to his subjects, and to do nothing in future which may lead to an unhappy rupture.

“The inhabitants of those villages have pillaged, ill treated, and ruined, all our people who were employed in the chace, and who went on commercial views to the country of the

* The Partridge, a name given to M. le Moynes.

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Illinois, of the Oumamis, and of the other nations, children of my Sovereign. And as you have acted on these occasions contrary to the treaty of peace concluded with my predecessor, I am charged to demand reparation, and to signify, in case of refusal, or of relapse into those offences, that I have express orders to declare war."

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1683.

This belt guarantees my word.

"The warriors of the Iroquois have conducted the English to the lakes of the King my master, and to the people who are his children, to destroy the commerce of his subjects, and to alienate those nations from the obedience which they owe him. They have led the English thither, notwithstanding express injunctions to the contrary, given by the former Governor of New York, who foresaw the hazard to which both would be exposed. I will readily forget these aggressions; but if a similar conduct is again adopted, I have express orders to declare war against you."

This belt contains my words.

"These warriors have likewise made several inhuman incursions into the country of the Illinois and of the Oumamis. They have there massacred men, women, and infants; captured, bound, and led away, a great number of the people of these two nations, who, in the midst of

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peace, considered themselves secure in their villages. These people who are the children of my King, ought no longer to be your slaves. You must restore them to liberty, and quickly send them back to their country, which if the five nations refuse, I have orders to declare war against them."

This belt confirms my words.

"The foregoing is what I had to address to the deputies, that they might explain to the five nations the declaration which the King my master has commanded me to make. He is unwilling that they should oblige him to send a strong army to Catarocony, to commence a war which would be fatal to them. He would also be much mortified, that this fort, which is a work of peace, should be converted into a prison for your warriors. Means must be pursued, both on the one point and the other, to avert such a calamity. The French, who are the brothers and friends of the five nations, will never disturb their repose, provided they will give the satisfaction demanded, and that the treaty of peace be henceforward pointedly observed. I should feel the disquietude of despair, did not my words produce the effect which I desire; for, I should then be compelled to act in conjunction with the Governor of New York, who, by order of his King, would aid me in consuming by fire, vengeance

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This belt confirms what I have said. 1683.

The interpreter of M. de la Barre having ceased to speak, La Grangula, the Tfonnonthouan deputy, who during the foregoing speech seemed to fix his eyes on the end of his pipe, arose, and after making five or six turns within the circle composed of Frenchmen and savages, he resumed his situation, and standing erect, and regarding the General with a fixed and stern look, replied in the following terms:

"Ononthio, I honour thee. All the warriors who accompany me likewise honour thee. Thy interpreter hath finished thy discourse; I am about to speak in reply. My voice hastens to thy ears; listen then with attention to my words.

"Thou must, on leaving Quebec, have imagined, Ononthio, that the intense heat of the sun had consumed the forests, which render our country inaccessible to the French; or, that the lake had so overflowed its boundaries, that finding our villages in the midst of the waters, it were impossible for us to quit them. Yes, Ononthio, thou must have believed either of those improbabilities; and curiosity to see so large a tract of country burnt up, or inundated, must have induced thee to travel thus far. Thou art now undeceived,

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undeceived, since I and my warriors come hither to assure thee, that the five nations have not yet perished. I thank thee in their name for having brought back into their lands the calumet of peace, which thy predecessors received from their hands. I at the same time congratulate thee for having buried under ground the murderous hatchet * which has so often been stained with the blood of thy countrymen. Attend, Ononchio; my eyes are open, and the sun which gives me light discloses to my view a great captain, at the head of a troop of warriors, who speaks like one in a dream. He says, he has approached this lake for the purpose of smoking in the great calumet with the Onnontagués, but La Grangula sees on the contrary, that it was for the purpose of destroying them, if so many of thy people had not been enfeebled by disease.

“ I see that Ononchio dreams amid a camp of invalids, whose lives the Great Spirit hath saved, and restrained them by infirmity, from prosecuting their design. Our women would have taken the war clubs, our children and old men would have carried the bow and arrow to thy camp, had not our warriors interposed to disarm

* To raise the hatchet, is to proclaim war; to bury it, is to enter on terms of peace.

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" We have pillaged, Ononthio, only those Frenchmen who carried fusils, powder and ball to the Illinois and the Oumamis our enemies, because these arms might have been fatal to us. In this, we have acted like the Jesuit missionaries, who break all the casks of spirits which are brought to our villages, apprehensive lest drunken Indians might knock them on the head.

" Our warriors have not beaver furs to pay for all the arms they have seized, and our poor old men are not afraid of war."

This belt contains my word.

" We have introduced the English to our lakes, to traffic there with the Outouais and Hurons, in the same manner that the Algonquins have conducted the French to our five villages, there to carry on a commerce which the English say belongs to them. We are born free, we depend neither on Ononthio nor on Corlar ; it is given to us to go wherever we please, and to sell and purchase what we think proper. If thy allies are thy children or thy slaves, restrain them from the power of receiving among them any other people but thine own."

This belt contains my word.

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" We have attacked the Illinois and the Outamamis, because they have cut down the tree of peace which served for the limits of our frontiers. They came to hunt the beaver on our lands, and, contrary to the practice of all other savages, have entirely extirpated those animals both male and female. They have drawn the Chaouanons into their country and into their party. After having meditated evil designs against us, they have given them fire arms. We have not acted with such injustice as the English or the French, who without title have usurped, for the purpose of building forts and towns, the lands of several nations whom they have driven from their countries and their homes."

This belt contains my word.

" Ononthio, attend ; my voice is that of the five Iroquois cabins. This is the answer which they give thee ; open wide therefore thine ears, and listen to that which they declare to thee.

" They say, that when they interred the hatchet at Catarocony in the centre of the fort, in presence of thy predecessor, they planted at the same time the tree of peace, to be there carefully preserved ; that instead of a retreat for warriors, this post should be only a rendezvous for merchants ; that instead of arms and ammunition, merchandise and beavers only should be admitted. Take care for the future, that so great
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a number of warriors as are here present, if shut up in that fortress, stifle not that tree. Having so happily taken root, it were an evil much to be lamented should its growth be impeded, and should it thereby be prevented from shading with its branches thy country and ours. I assure thee, that our warriors will dance under the shadow of its leaves the calumet dance; that they will repose in quiet on their mats; that they will not unbury the hatchet to cut down the tree of peace, until Ononthio and Corlar in conjunction or separately shall have put themselves in motion to attack this country, of which the Great Spirit made a disposal in favour of our ancestors.

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“ This collar contains my word, and that, the power with which I am invested by the Five Nations.”

The deputies of Onnontagué guaranteed, that the Tsonnonthouans should make reparation for the loss which their warriors had occasioned to the Frenchmen, whom they pillaged in going to war against the Illinois; but they exacted from the General, that his army should decamp next day; whereupon he immediately departed himself, after giving orders for the execution of this last article.

It was not expected at court that hostilities would so soon terminate; still less that they should

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should end in a manner so little honourable to the nation. M. de la Barre was scarcely arrived at Quebec, when he received a reinforcement of troops, which might have put him in a condition to give law to those from whom he had received it. The detachment was commanded by M. M. Montertier and Desnos, captains of the marine.

A letter was at the same time received from the King, importing that it was his majesty's pleasure that these two officers should command, in the most advanced and most important posts in the colony; and that their authority should be independent of M. de la Barre, who being engaged in a difficult war, and from his advanced age being unable to transport himself to places where his presence might be necessary, they were sent as persons on whose experience and exertions great confidence might be placed.

It was further added, that as the King's service required every possible means of diminishing the numbers of the Iroquois, and, as these Indians were strong and robust, they might be usefully employed in the galleys, he was ordered to make as many prisoners of war as possible, and to send them over to France.

This order could not be executed when it was received by M. de la Barre. His successor however did not fail to use it, when the war with the Iroquois re-commenced, and the unhappy consequences

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sequences which it produced will hereafter appear.

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1684.

New France acquired this year an officer of great merit, who rendered to it the most important services. M. Perrot, governor of Montreal, being upon bad terms with the members of the seminary of St. Sulpicius, who had, as has already been mentioned, in quality of seignors, the right of nominating the Governor, the King, for the maintenance of tranquillity, gave to M. Perrot the government of Acadia, and appointed for his successor the Chevalier de Callieres, a captain of the regiment of Navarre. The limits of his government were in the following year described to extend to lake St. Peter.

1685.

M. le Marquis de Denonville arrived this year at Quebec with a reinforcement of troops. He had been nominated Governor-General of New France on the arrival of the vessels which had carried out to Canada M. M. Defnos and Monttertier; the King having been made acquainted with the manner in which the peace with the Iroquois had been concluded, conceived that it would not be of long duration, and as the great age and infirm state of health of M. de la Barre rendered him little qualified to carry on a war with vigour, his majesty saw the necessity of appointing a successor to his government. He therefore made choice of the Marquis de Denonville,

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ville, colonel of dragoons, a man not less estimable for his personal valour than for his integrity and piety, and it was determined that a new effort should be made to place the colony in a state of security and tranquillity.

M. de Denonville allowed himself scarcely a few hours of repose, after a voyage which had been long and boisterous, before he ascended to Catarocony. The Sieur de la Forêt had been there re-established by order of the court, to command in the name of M. de la Sale; but having demanded permission to make a new voyage to the Illinois, where he expected to meet that gentleman, M. d'Orvilliers was again put in charge of that post. During the stay which the Governor-General made there, he learnt that the Iroquois were inspired with great distrust of the French, and he omitted nothing to regain their good opinion. He, however, saw that this nation had risen to a tone of insolence which it was necessary to reduce; and he informed the minister, that the hostilities which were continued against the Illinois were a sufficient ground of war; but before it should be declared, every preparation ought to be made against an enemy who are always in a state of warfare.

It was recommended to the Governor by the court, to endeavour gradually to promote among the savages, by every inducement, a similarity of

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of manners to those of the French. But this project frequent experience had already proved to be impracticable. Even they who settled among the French adopted neither their manners nor their mode of government, and many Frenchmen who had much intercourse with the natives, assumed their habits, and followed their erratic mode of life.

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The knowledge which the Governor acquired of the affairs of Canada, to which he applied himself with much assiduity during the winter, confirmed him in the opinion that the Iroquois would never be reconciled to the French; and to avoid the evil of having always so artful and dangerous an enemy, it became a measure of political necessity, whatever it might cost, either to extirpate them, or at least to humiliate and enfeeble them so far, as to constrain them to seek and to maintain the alliance of the French. He was also convinced that there were no other means of supporting the commerce, which there was reason to foresee would be reduced to nothing, if circumstances were allowed to remain in the state in which they then were; and that the Iroquois alone impeded the propagation of the Christian religion among the natives.

To guard New France from an evil which was not remote, the Marquis Denonville proposed to the minister that a stone fort, capable of containing

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taining five hundred men, should be constructed at Niagara. He represented that this post, thus guarded, would absolutely exclude the English from the passage of the lakes, and would place the French in a situation to prevent the Iroquois from carrying furs to the former, much more than by the means of Fort Catarocony, and that barks might be kept there in the winter, sheltered from the winds; that it would be easy to navigate with freedom on Lake Ontario, whose extremities would be commanded by the French; and the savages, whose country extends along that lake, would have no longer any outlet for the produce of the chase, but such only as the French would chuse to allow them; that besides, as they could not hunt upon their own territories, where there were scarcely any wild animals, and not one beaver, their trade would be regulated at the discretion of the former. This would occasion to the English a yearly loss of four hundred thousand francs, and as much profit to the French.

He added, that if it was intended that succours should be procured from the allies, during a war with the Iroquois, it was absolutely necessary to possess a station where they might assemble, and take refuge in case of defeat. In fine, it appeared no longer a doubt, that a fortress of such a description, at the very door of the

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the Iroquois' territories, would impress them with awe and respect, and would stop a great number of French deserters, who usually went by that route to the English, and served them afterwards as guides to reconnoitre the advanced posts of the colony.

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To defray the expences in constructing and maintaining this fort, he proposed that an exclusive commerce to be carried on there, should be formed by some respectable person. He represented that in time, this farm would produce to the King a considerable revenue, and that it would by no means be prejudicial to the inhabitants of New France, because all the furs which would by this means form the trade of Niagara, then went to the English.

The company of merchants at Quebec, who traded to the north west, earnestly wished for such an establishment, and engaged, if it was erected, to furnish the magazines of Niagara with all kinds of merchandize, which might be exchanged for furs; that they would take a lease of them for nine years, and pay to the King for this privilege a yearly rent of thirty thousand livres.

The General received from the Governor of New York, a letter dated the 29th of May, importing that the great quantities of provision

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which were collected at Catarocony, had given the Iroquois reason to think that it was intended to declare war against them; that this people being subjects of the crown of England, to attack them would be a manifest infraction of the peace which subsisted between their two Sovereigns; that he had also learnt that it was designed to build a fort at Niagara, and that this intelligence had the more surprised him, because it ought not to be unknown in Canada, that *all that* country was a dependency of New York.

M. de Denonville replied, that the Iroquois dreaded a chastisement, because they were conscious of being culpable; that the provisions sent to Catarocony ought not to alarm him, as there being always a considerable garrison in that post, and the opportunities of transporting supplies not frequently occurring, it was necessary when they did occur, to transport large quantities; that England was not well grounded in her pretensions to the domain of the Iroquois' territories, and it ought to have been known that the French had possession of them before any Englishman appeared in New York; that the two Kings their masters, being then upon friendly terms, it became not either of their Lieutenant-Generals to interrupt the tranquillity which prevailed.

We

We shall here give a brief account of the manner in which the traffic for furs, already repeatedly mentioned in the course of this work, was at that time conducted at Montreal.

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From twenty to thirty canoes laden with beaver furs, navigated by the *Coueurs de Bois*, arrived at that place from the great lakes. The contents of each were forty packets, each packet weighing fifty pounds, and being worth fifty half crowns at the office of the farmer. These canoes were followed by fifty others of the Outaouais and Hurons, who annually descended to the colony, there to traffic on more advantageous terms than they could procure at Michilimakinac their native country, situated on the north west borders of lake Huron, and near the mouth of lake Michigan, or the lake of the Illinois. They first encamped at a small distance from Montreal. The day of their arrival was spent, as well in arranging their canoes, and disembarking their furs, as in erecting their huts or tents, which were constructed with the bark of birch-trees. On the day following they sent to demand an audience of the Governor-General, who usually granted it without delay, in the market-place. Each nation there formed its own circle, and the savages being seated on the ground with each his pipe in his mouth, and the Governor placed in his chair, the orator of one

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of these nations expressed himself as follows, in the form of a harangue.

“ That he and his brethren were come to visit Ononthio, and to renew with him at the same time the terms of former amity ; that the principal motive of their voyage was to render themselves useful to the French, among whom they found there were some who possessed neither the means of traffic, nor sufficient strength of body to transport merchandize to the extremity of the lakes, and who could not therefore procure beaver furs, did not he and his brethren descend to trade in the French colonies ; that they were well acquainted with the satisfaction which their arrival occasioned to the inhabitants of Montreal, on account of the profits derived from them ; that these furs being of high estimation in Europe, and on the contrary, the merchandize given in exchange for them but of little value, they were well inclined to evince to the French the desire which they had to provide them with this object of commerce, which was so ardently pursued. That to have the means of supplying more another year, they meant to take in exchange fusils, powder and lead, to enable them to procure furs in abundance, and to harass and annoy the Iroquois, should that nation be disposed to attack the French settlements ; and, to give assurance of maintaining their engagement, they presented

presented a collar of porcelaine, and a quantity of beaver furs to *Kitchi Okima**, of whom they demanded protection lest they should be ill treated in the town."

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Having ended his discourse, the orator resumed his place and his pipe, whilst the interpreter explained to the Governor the subject-matter of the address, who answered them in civil terms, more especially if the gratuity was of value. He also in return made them a present of some trifling articles, after which the savages arose, and returned to their cabins to prepare for the barter of their furs.

On the following day each savage conveyed his furs to the merchants, who generally gave a better price than was demanded. All the inhabitants had free permission to trade, and the only articles prohibited were wine and brandy, because a great part of the savages having beaver remaining on hand, after having furnished themselves with all the stores they required, drank to excess, and in a state of intoxication murdered their slaves. They quarrelled, beat and mutilated each other, and would infallibly have destroyed a part of their countrymen, had they not been restrained by such of their companions as detested that excess of inebriation.

* The great Captain, or Governor-General.

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None of them would accept of gold or silver. They went from shop to shop with the bow and arrows in their hands, and totally in a state of nature. When they had concluded their traffic, they took leave of the Governor, and returned to their country by the great river of the Outaouais.

Canada subsisted from the period of its original establishment chiefly by the great commerce for furs, three-fourths of which were derived from people who inhabited the borders of the great lakes; but it was afterwards drawn from sources far more remote.

With a view to regulate this commerce, which had for a considerable period been conducted by a number of disorderly people subject to no regulations, and known by the appellation of *Coueurs de Bois*, a limited number of written licenses from the Governor-General were by the King directed to be granted to poor gentlemen, and to old officers burdened with families, that they might exclusively convey merchandize to the lakes. The number was confined to twenty-five every year, although many more licenses were granted. It was expressly prohibited on pain of death, to all persons of whatever rank or condition, to go thither themselves, or to employ any one on that service, without these licenses. Each license allowed of two large canoes loaded with

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with merchandise. They who were thus authorized could either act themselves, or dispose of their privilege to the highest bidder. The licenses were usually estimated to be worth six hundred crowns each, and they were generally purchased by the merchants. When they were once obtained, there was no difficulty in finding *Coueurs de Bois* to undertake the long voyages, which, if they wished to gain a considerable profit, it was necessary to make. The merchants placed six men in the two canoes stipulated in each license, together with the value of a thousand crowns in merchandize suitable for the savages, rated and delivered to these *Coueurs de Bois* at fifteen per cent. more than the price at which it was sold for ready money in the colony. This sum of a thousand crowns brought usually, at a medium, on the return of the voyage, seven hundred per cent. of profit, as no scruple was made of imposing on the inexperience of the savages. Thus these two canoes, which carried only a thousand crowns in value, produced, after the barter took place, a sufficient number of beaver skins to load four canoes. These could carry one hundred and sixty packets of beaver skins, with forty in each, which were worth fifty crowns, making in all, at the conclusion of the voyage, the sum of eight thousand crowns, which was generally distributed in the manner following.

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ing. The merchant received in beaver the payment of the license, which was six hundred crowns, and that of the merchandize a thousand crowns. Upon the six thousand four hundred of surplus, they took forty per cent. on the money advanced for the adventure, which made two thousand five hundred and sixty crowns. The residue was divided among the *Coueurs de Bois*, who certainly well earned the six hundred crowns, or nearly, which remained to each for the inconceivable toils he had undergone. Besides the immense profits already mentioned, the merchant derived twenty-five per cent. on these beaver skins, upon carrying them to the office of the farmer general, where the prices of four qualities of that article were regulated.

Having thus far noticed the commercial affairs of Canada, we shall advert to those of the ecclesiastics and of the law. A few years before the period at which we have now arrived, another mode than that which has been already mentioned was taken to satisfy the clergy, to whom the last arrangements of the council with respect to them did not appear sufficiently ample. The Governor and the Bishop wished to regulate the competent proportion payable to five hundred livres for each parish; but the King, in a letter addressed to the former, intimated that it was his opinion the plan which had been formed for the distribution

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distribution of the curés, and for their subsistence, was prejudicial to the interests of the colony, where the greater proportion of the inhabitants were poor. That in France, the most considerable benefices exceeded not a hundred crowns, and that there was a very great number of curés who had no more than a hundred and fifty livres, and who nevertheless lived with decency, and performed all their functions; and what still more surprised him, with regard to this point, was, that the Bishop should have persuaded the priests that they could not subsist on less than five hundred livres; on this account it would be difficult to retrench their allowances. It was further his pleasure that such as had four hundred livres should be allowed no more than that sum.

The clergy were dissatisfied that the tithes should be rated so low, and made several attempts to get them restored to a thirteenth part of the produce; but the superior council of Quebec uniformly opposed them, and as at length they appealed to the council of the King, this appeal produced a decree which effectually put a stop to their pretensions on that point. On the other hand, besides the sum of seven thousand six hundred livres, which the King had assigned as a supplement to the tithes, his Majesty granted one thousand seven hundred livres for those whom

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whom their great age or infirmities permitted not to serve their curacies, and by a decree, it was regulated that this sum should be divided into five portions of three hundred livres each, and one of two hundred livres.

The surplus of the sum of seven thousand six hundred livres, which should remain after its application towards the increase of the benefices of the clergy, was appropriated for building parish churches, the patronage of which was vested in the bishop, to the exclusion of the seignors, who had hitherto enjoyed it; and it was ordained by the same decree which regulated this change, that all churches should be built of stone. The chapter of the cathedral was composed of a dean, a chief singer, an archdeacon, a prebendary, and twelve canons. The King reserved to himself the nomination of the two first dignitaries, the bishop nominated to all the rest.

The functions of first president, which had been allotted to the Intendant, gave great umbrage to the Governor-General; he made representations to which no attention was paid, and it was enjoined by a decree of the council, that in all the acts, and in the minutes of the colonial council, the Governor and the intendant should assume no other quality but such as immediately belonged to their office. Several years afterwards four new counsellors, a clerk, and three temporal

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temporal counsellors were created, and the number was established at twelve members, including the bishop. One was called senior counsellor, whose appointments were doubled. They were nominated by the court, and their situation was merely honorary, without any particular functions. The Procureur-General and the Register in Chief were allowed salaries, which were extremely moderate.

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The council was regularly held at the Intendant's palace every Monday, and when it was necessary to assemble an extraordinary council, the Intendant appointed the day and hour of meeting. Justice was there administered according to the ordinances of the kingdom, and the *coutume de Paris*. Some regulations were made for this council by an edict of the King, which was termed in the province, *the reduction of the code*. There afterwards arose some difficulties with respect to judgment in causes of recusation, which were likewise explained by an edict, when it was declared, that, in proceedings where officers of the council might be interested, the cause should be referred, at the request of one of the parties, to the Intendant, who, with the judges, whom he should assemble for that purpose, should pronounce a decision. The council was also authorised to decide on criminal causes brought before five or more of its members.

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There were besides in the colony three subordinate jurisdictions; those of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. They were composed of a Lieutenant-General, a Lieutenant, and King's Advocate.

A spirit of litigation, or of resorting to the courts of law in differences which arose respecting property, began to diffuse itself in Canada. A practice so hostile to the prosperity of the settlement, was however discountenanced by the Governor, who exerted his authority to procure the amicable settlement of disputes, with such success, that the mode of decision by arbitration prevailed for a considerable period, and the lawyers as well as officers of justice, deprived of the means of subsisting by their profession, laid their grievances before the court. The appointment of the members of the courts of law was therefore regulated by a declaration of the King. The notaries, ushers, and serjeants, had also wages.

The administration of justice at Montreal belonged to the members of the seminary of Saint Sulpicius, in quality of Seignors of the island. They gave in their resignation to the King on condition that the exercise of that power, within the precincts of the seminary, and of their farm of Saint Gabriel, should still remain with them, together with the perpetual and incommunicable privilege of the register of royal justice, which should

should be established in the island, and the nomination of the first judge. These terms were confirmed to them by an edict for the creation of the new system of justice, but the last article was allowed them for once only. Such were the attentions of the Sovereign to procure for his subjects of New France a distribution of justice no less prompt than accessible; and it was on the model of the superior council of Quebec that those of Martinique, Saint Domingo, and Louisiana, were afterwards established.

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The Governor-General received an order from the court, which would have been more efficacious in obviating all the inconveniencies, which he wished to avoid, and in obliging the Iroquois to remain in tranquillity, than the most successful expedition, had both European nations on the continent of America been equally solicitous to avail themselves of the advantage. This was a treaty of neutrality between the English and French subjects in America, notwithstanding any rupture that might take place between their Sovereigns, and the stipulations were arranged and the treaty finally concluded in London, by M. de Barrillon, the French ambassador, on the part of his Sovereign, and the Secretary of State for the home department on the part of the King of Great Britain.

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The General having, it appears, received all the supplies and reinforcements which he had at that time expected from France, marched in the summer towards lake Ontario, with two thousand Frenchmen and six hundred savages. But the declaration of war was preceded by a measure which cannot be justified by any rule of policy. The King, as has already been mentioned, had intimated to M. de la Barre his desire to have some of the Iroquois for the purpose of manning his gallies. M. de Denonville might have foreseen and represented the unhappy consequences, which an obedience to that order, would inevitably produce; much less ought he to have executed it in a manner which certainly never was prescribed to him. The most rigid interpretation of that order could be extended only to prisoners captured in war. The General, however, conceived himself justifiable in using every possible effort to weaken and intimidate barbarians, whose perfidy, sanguinary cruelty, and whole tenor of conduct, rendered them unworthy of being treated according to the established system of warfare. On this principle, reflecting not that he owed to his own character that regard for justice, which he might conceive he owed not to the Iroquois, before any declaration of war, he assembled at Catarocony,

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under various pretences, several of their principal chiefs, immediately put them in chains, and sent them to Quebec under a strong escort, with an order for the Commandant to embark them in vessels for France, that they might be conducted to the galleys.

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In order to draw the Iroquois into this snare, the General employed two missionaries, who had resided for some time in their country, and had gained an influence with several of their chiefs. The one fell into the hands of the Onneyouths, by whom he was condemned to the flames, but was saved at the moment of execution by a matron who adopted him : the other owed his safety and his liberty to the great esteem and sincere attachment in which he was held by the Onnontagués. On the first accounts which were received of the event which had taken place at Catarocony the ancients assembled, and called the missionary, whose name was Lamberville, before them ; after having exposed the fact with all the energy of which the movements of indignation, conceived to be just, are capable, when he expected to undergo the most terrible effects of the fury which he saw painted in their countenances, one of the ancients addressed him in the following words :

“ There can be no question that we are now in every respect authorised to treat thee as an enemy, but we cannot resolve to do it. We

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know thee too well not to be persuaded that thy heart had no share in this treason, of which thou hast in some degree been the cause; and we are not so unjust as to punish thee for a crime of which we believe thee innocent, which thou abhorrest equally with us; and we are convinced thou feelest the pangs of deep distress for having been made its instrument. It is however improper that thou shouldst remain among us; every one will perhaps not manifest towards thee that clemency which we now shew, and when once our youth have sung the song of war, they will no longer view thee but as a traitor, who hath delivered our chiefs into a rude and unworthy state of bondage; and they will give a loose to the dictates of revenge, from whose fury we shall be unable to protect thee."

They obliged him to depart immediately, gave him guides to conduct him through unfrequented paths, and who were enjoined not to leave him until he was out of all danger. The chief Gzarakarhié, was, doubtless, the author of a line of conduct at once so generous and noble. This savage was sincerely attached to father Lamber-ville, and the tenderness and friendship which that missionary ever afterwards cherished for him, gave reason to conclude that he considered him as his deliverer.

Every

Every thing was in readiness to begin the war, when M. de Dénonville declared himself in the manner which will hereafter appear. His measures were well taken, and if the success of his expedition answered not entirely his expectations, it was more his misfortune than his fault.

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The French were for a time encamped on the small island of St. Helen, opposite to Montreal, and M. de Champigni Noroi, who the preceding year had succeeded M. de Meules in the intendance of New France, joined them there with the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who had arrived a little time before in the quality of commandant of the troops. All being in readiness, on the 11th of June the army began their voyage, in two hundred batteaux and as many birch canoes. It was composed of eight hundred and thirty-two regular soldiers, a thousand Canadians, and three hundred savages.

The perfect harmony which prevailed between the Governor-General and the new intendant, which was founded on a zeal for the King's service, had diffused the same concord through the troops. On their arrival at Catarocony they halted a short time. M. Durantays, who commanded at Michilimakinac, joined M. M. du Luth and Tonti at the entrance of the Détroit, and accompanied them to Niagara. They had scarcely arrived at that place, when the Sieur de

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la Forêt brought them an order from the Governor-General to rendezvous on the 10th of July at the river *des Sables*, to the eastward of the bay of the Tsonnonthouans, on the side of Catarocony. M. de Dénonville marched thither himself with his army, and by a chance, from which the savages failed not to draw a fortunate presage, the whole entered it at the same time. They immediately began to construct, a little above the river, a retrenchment of pallisades for depositing the stores. It was finished in two days, and M. d'Orvilliers was left there with four hundred men, as a guard, and for the protection of the rear of the army.

From the fort *des Sables* the army took its march by land; on the 13th, after having passed two dangerous defiles, and on their arrival at a third, they were vigorously attacked by eight hundred of the Iroquois. Two hundred of these savages, after a discharge of their pieces, turned away to take the army in the rear, whilst the rest should continue to engage the van. They were not more distant than a musquet shot from the first village of the Tsonnonthouans, from whence it was apprehended that reinforcements might issue; the fear of this, joined to a surprise in a dangerous situation, occasioned some disorder. Many of the allied savages, more accustomed than the French to engagements in the woods,

stood

stood with firmness, and afforded the troops time to rally. The enemy was then pressed on every quarter, and seeing their inferiority, disbanded, to betake themselves more easily to flight.

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The French in this action had five or six men killed, and about twenty wounded. The Iroquois had forty-five men killed, and sixty wounded. The bodies of the first were torn in pieces, and eaten by the Outaouais, who made war upon the dead better than on the living.

The Hurons, the Iroquois Christians of the rapids of St. Louis, and of the mountain of Montreal, conducted themselves with much bravery.

At one of the four great villages which composed the canton of the Tsonnonthouans, about eight leagues from the fort *des Sables*, the army encamped. It was found totally deserted, and was afterwards burnt. After a march of ten days in the woods, the army met with none of the enemy. They burnt in their progress four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and destroyed an immense number of hogs. The General, fearing lest the savages who accompanied his march would disband themselves, which they more than once threatened, was necessitated to limit his enterprise.

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M. de Dénonville had ever much at heart the construction of a fort at Niagara, and the opportunity which now presented itself for executing this design was too favourable not to be embraced. The fort was finished, and the Chevalier de la Troye was left there with a hundred men for its protection. Unfortunately, however, a malady was soon introduced into the garrison which cut off nearly the whole, and this important post was abandoned and destroyed.

Before the establishment of this post, a resolution should have been taken to maintain it, notwithstanding the losses and difficulties that might occur. From the want of having provided resources sufficient for this purpose, the French exposed themselves to the contempt of the savages. The disease which caused the loss of the troops, and of the officer who commanded them, originated not only from the bad state of their provisions, but from the incessant fatigue which they underwent from being harassed by the enemy. They were kept blockaded in such a manner that they could not procure the smallest refreshment either from the chase or from fishing, although the country abounded with animals and birds, and the river with excellent fish.

On the 13th of November the fort of Chambly was suddenly attacked by a large party of Agniers and

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and Mahingans. The resistance which they found obliged them to decamp the following day, but not before they had burnt some houses in the neighbourhood, and carried off several prisoners. The bad success of this expedition, and the advice which the Governor of New York received, that it was known to the French he had been concerned in it, made him afraid of a reprisal. The alarm became so great at Orange, that the inhabitants of the country sent to that garrison every thing they had which was of value, and a body of twelve hundred savages passed the winter in the neighbourhood, to cover the town from an attack.

There happened, towards the end of summer, a great mortality in Canada; and it was chiefly this which prevented the Governor from executing a project he had formed of a second expedition against the Tsonnonthouans. There was, however, another reason: he could not depend upon the savages of the western territories, particularly on the Hurons of Michilimakinac; for it was discovered that the latter entertained a secret correspondence with the Iroquois, even before the last campaign, although they had acquitted themselves with credit in the action.

The orders which the General at this time received from the court, not to give the English any subject of complaint, were to him a source

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of much embarrassment. It was doubtless supposed that each party had been equally guarded in its conduct. In governments remote from the parent state, circumstances often occur which may render it impracticable to comply with particular instructions. The will of the Sovereign may in some cases be anticipated, particularly where the general interests are concerned. It cannot therefore be deemed disobedience to adopt measures which the Sovereign himself would probably recommend, were he acquainted with the situation of events. An unqualified deference ought not therefore to be exacted from those who are entrusted with distant commands: a certain discretionary power applicable to local circumstances is usually implied, that the general interests of the state and the honour of the Sovereign may be reconcileable with the instructions which have been given.

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The Iroquois sent deputies, accompanied by five hundred warriors, under pretence of an escort, to treat with M. de Dénonville. When they had arrived at Catarocony, one of the deputies went with six men into the fort, and demanded of the commandant one of his officers to accompany them to Montreal. M. d'Orvilliers allowed him the Sieur la Parelle, his lieutenant, who, having embarked in the canoe with the savages, was presently surprised to find himself in the midst

midst of five hundred warriors well armed, and was received by them in a manner that gave him reason to apprehend himself a prisoner. They conducted him to lake St. Francis, where they met another body of Iroquois, equally numerous with the first. Both remained at this place, and allowed La Parelle to continue his rout to Montreal with the deputies only. The Governor-General there gave them an audience immediately. The Iroquois orator there exposed, in terms highly emphatical, the advantageous situation which his nation enjoyed, the weakness of the French, and the facility with which the cantons could exterminate them, or oblige them to abandon Canada.

“ For myself,” added he, “ I have always esteemed them, and I come to give them of this no equivocal proof; for, having learnt the design which our warriors had formed of burning your forts, your houses, your barns, and your grain, to the end, that after having reduced you to a state of famine, they might make their own terms with you, I made use of all my influence in your favour, and I have obtained permission to acquaint Ononthio, that he may avoid this evil by accepting of peace, on the conditions proposed by the Governor of New York. No more than four days will be allowed for your final determination, and if you make a longer

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longer delay, I cannot explain what may be the event."

A discourse so haughty, and a body of twelve hundred Iroquois at lake St. Francis, from whence they could in less than two days fall upon the island of Montreal, filled every mind with awful apprehension. From the river Sorel to La Prairie de la Magdelene, the inhabitants could not leave their houses, without the risque of falling among a party of the enemy. The fort of Catarocony was invaded by eight hundred Iroquois, who had burnt all the hay with flaming arrows, and killed all the cattle. Lake Ontario was likewise covered with canoes of the enemy, who to the number of four hundred, attacked a barque carrying men and provisions. The chief who commanded the blockade of Catarocony was uncle to a savage prisoner whom the Governor had sent to Onnontagué. This captain was sensible of the liberty which had been given to his nephew, and his gratitude for this act carried him so far as to withdraw his troops. Thus the fort was delivered at a moment when it was conceived impossible to save the place. On the eighth of June, deputies from the Onnontagués, the Onneyouths, and Goyogouins arrived at Montreal, and demanded peace in the name of the whole nation. The General replied, that he would

consent

consent to peace, upon condition that all his allies should be comprehended in it; that the other two cantons should also send deputies for the same end; that hostilities should cease in every quarter, and that he should be at full liberty to victual the fort at Catarocony.

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The conditions were accepted, and the exchange of prisoners was regulated without any difficulty. M. de Dénonville thereupon wrote to the minister, to solicit, that the Iroquois who were carried to France, and employed in the galleys at Marseilles, should be sent back to Canada.

A cessation of hostilities immediately took place, the Iroquois consented to leave five hostages to insure the safety of the convoy to Catarocony, and it was agreed that if any skirmishes with the allies should happen during the negotiation, no change should be thereby made on the conditions already stipulated.

Of all the French allies, the only people whom the enemy feared, or despaired to gain over, were the Abénaquis, who on their part, declined being included in any truce, or treaty of peace. At the time when the Governor was busied in the pacification for Canada they took the field, and having advanced to the river Sorel, surprised some Iroquois and Mahingans, part of whom they killed. They then pushed on to the English settlements,

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settlements, destroyed some of the inhabitants, and brought away their scalps. The Iroquois of the rapids of St. Louis, and of the mountain, were, on their side, occupied in a similar manner; but they who took measures more justifiable, to render abortive the conclusion of a treaty, of which they feared to become the first victims, were the Hurons of Michilimakinac, who were frequently and justly suspected of a collusion with the English and Iroquois.

Kondiaronk, or the Rat, chief of war and senior in council among the Hurons, aged forty years, finding himself pressed and solicited by M. de Dénonville to enter into an alliance with him, at last consented, upon condition that the war should not terminate, but by the total destruction of the Iroquois nations. Relying on these engagements, the Rat departed from Michilimakinac at the head of a hundred warriors, to invade the country of the Iroquois, with the intention of performing some brilliant exploit. In the mean while, as it was necessary in this conjuncture of affairs to act with caution and prudence, he judged it proper first to go to Fort Frontenac or Catarocony. When he arrived at that place, he was informed by the Commandant, that M. de Dénonville was endeavouring to make peace with the five nations, whose ambassadors he expected, with hostages to be conducted to Montreal;

Montreal; that the treaty, which had already been nearly arranged, might be finally concluded. He likewise told the Rat, that, in consequence thereof, it was expedient he should return to Michilimakinac with all his warriors. This savage, astonished at news so little expected, and so prejudicial to him and to all his nation, and foreseeing that he should be sacrificed to the interests of the French, replied to the Commandant, with an air of indifference, that his request was reasonable. Far, however, from pursuing the counsel which had been given him, he went to meet the ambassadors and hostages of the Iroquois at the cascades of St. Lawrence, about thirty miles above the island of Montreal. There he remained for five or six days, when these unfortunate deputies, accompanied by forty young men, arrived, and were killed or captured in disembarking from their canoes. When the captives were bound, this politic savage informed them that the French Governor, having advised him to resort thither, to watch for a party of warriors who should pass by the way of the cascades, he had occupied that position. The Iroquois, shocked at the perfidy of which they supposed M. de Dénonville had been guilty, related to the Rat, the object of their mission. The Huron, assuming then an air of terrible ferocity, began,

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began, in order the better to play his part, to declaim against the conduct of M. de Dénonville, asserting that sooner or later he would avenge himself for having been made the instrument, in effecting the most horrible treason that ever was committed ; and, looking with fixed attention on all the prisoners, among whom was the principal ambassador Theganesorens, he said, " Go, my brethren, I release you, and restore you to your country, although we are at war with you. The Governor of the French has caused me to commit an action of such turpitude, that I shall never hereafter, on that account, enjoy repose of mind, unless the five nations exercise a just and suitable degree of revenge." Nothing more was necessary to persuade these Iroquois of the sincerity of the Rat, and they immediately assured him, that, if he would consent to enter on terms of peace, they should be ratified by the five nations. The Rat, who on this occasion lost only one man, retained, in order to replace him, a slave of the Chaouanon nation, who had been adopted by the Iroquois, and having given fusils, powder, and ball, to the prisoners, to enable them to return to their villages, he took the rout for Michilimakinac, where he presented to the French Commandant the slave whom he brought with him. He was no sooner delivered over than he was condemned

condemned to be shot, because it was not yet known there that M. de Dénonville was about to make peace with the Iroquois.

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In vain did this unhappy slave recount his own adventure and that of the ambassadors. It was imagined that the terror of death made him speak, whilst the Rat and his warriors affirmed that he raved. Thus was this unhappy wretch sacrificed, notwithstanding all the reasons which he urged in his defence.

On the same day, the Rat, calling to him an old Iroquois slave who had a long time served him, said that he was now resolved to give him his freedom, and to send him back to his country, to pass the remainder of his days among the people of his nation, and, being an ocular witness of the treatment which the French had shewn towards his countryman by adoption, whom they shot, notwithstanding all he could say to the Commandant in his justification, he ought not to fail in representing to them an action so barbarous and unjust; and that whilst the French were amusing the cantons with pretended negotiations, they caused their people to be captured and put to death. The slave acquitted himself so punctually of his commission, that although the Iroquois appeared to be undeceived with respect to the bad faith of the Governor-

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vernor-General, it will hereafter be shown, that they either dissembled, or that a great number of the nation was well inclined to seize so plausible a pretext for re-commencing the war.

It may well be imagined, from the situation in which the affairs of New France had long been, that the commerce could be by no means flourishing. For upwards of nine years that it had been declared free, the colony had considerably increased, and by a capitation taken this year, its population amounted to eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons. The English participated with the French in the commerce of furs, which was the principal cause of the wars in which the latter were so frequently engaged against the Iroquois, because the former could not procure furs of the most valuable quality which are drawn from the quarters of the north, but by means of these savages, with whom the French would not be reconciled, without cutting off from them that profitable source.

The establishment of a fishery was attempted this year in the vicinity of the river Matane, which empties itself into the Saint Lawrence, and whose mouth was found capable of receiving ships of two hundred tons. All the south coast of this part of the St. Lawrence, for the space of

twenty leagues, abounds in cod fish, though inferior in size and quality to those caught on the banks of Newfoundland. Great quantities of whales and porpusses also frequent this immense river, and from these as well as from the salmon fisheries very considerable profits were afterwards derived.

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In the end of May M. de Denonville received orders to return to Europe, to be employed in the army of the King of France, there being an immediate prospect of a rupture on that continent. At the same time the Count de Frontenac, who had before governed New France, was declared his successor.

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The Marquis de Denonville entertained a sincere wish to promote the welfare of the colony, and an ardent zeal for the interests of the service of his Sovereign. He omitted nothing in his power that could contribute to the one or to the other. His ideas for the improvement of Canada were extensive and well founded. During his administration perfect concord existed between all who participated in the government, a circumstance which had never taken place before, although essential to the tranquillity of the inhabitants, and to the public good.

He was however at times deficient in activity and vigour. He took not much pains to investigate the character of those who approached

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him, and sometimes abandoned plans, the execution of which he had begun. His confidence was frequently abused by those whom he consulted, who had no other object in view but their particular interests. Of unsuspecting integrity, he relied too much on the opinions of those who surrounded him, and reflected not that interest, ambition, and avarice, passions too powerful to submit to the restraint of conscience or of honour, uniformly endeavour to assume the mask of virtue.

BOOK V.

Irruption and Devastation by the Iroquois, in the Island of Montreal.—Return of the Count de Frontenac to Canada.—Conference of Iroquois Deputies at Quebec.—Attack and Pillage of Corlar.—Of Sementels.—Of Kaskebé.—Convoy for Michilimakinac attacked by a Party of the Iroquois.—Arrives in Safety at its Destination.—Causes a Change in the Disposition of the French Allies.—Descent of the Iroquois on the Vicinity of the Island of Montreal.—Sir William Phipps sails from Boston with an Armament for the Reduction of Quebec.—Attempt on that Place.—Failure.—Return of the English Fleet.—Iroquois attack the Fort of La Prairie de la Magdelaine.—Obstinate Courage and Resolution of those Savages.—Mantel's Expedition against their Nation.

THE state of weakness to which New France had now fallen, and a project which had been concerted at Paris for the reduction of New York, required that the person who should be placed in the direction of affairs in Canada, should possess commanding manners, firmness of character, experience in the mode of carrying on war, knowledge of the country, and of the habits and disposition of the savages. Those

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qualities were combined in the Count de Frontenac, and there was reason to hope that, with the genius which he possessed, he would profit from his former errors, and the unhappiness which they caused him, so far as to moderate his passions, and to conduct himself upon other principles than the suggestions of his prejudices or dislikes.

The Count de Frontenac and the Chevalier de Callieres arrived at Quebec on the 12th of October, and at Montreal on the 27th. They there found M. M. de Denonville and Champigny in a state of much embarrassment.

The Iroquois made an incursion into the colony when M. de Denonville expected not such a visit, having had the precaution to signify to that people that he so greatly disapproved of the treason of the Rat, that he would order him to be hanged, should he fall into his hands. He therefore every day awaited the arrival of ten or twelve deputies to conclude terms of peace. After the lapse of a short time they indeed arrived, but in a much greater number, and with a design different from that of which the General had conceived the hope. They disembarked at the end of the island to the number of twelve hundred warriors, who burnt and pillaged all the habitations. They made a horrid massacre of men, women, and children: the consternation became

became general; for these barbarians had approached within three leagues of the town. They blockaded two forts, after having burnt the surrounding houses. A detachment of one hundred soldiers and fifty savages who had been sent after them, were nearly all taken or cut in pieces.

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The Iroquois spread desolation over almost the whole island, and lost only three of their people, one of whom was brought prisoner to the town, and declared to the Governor, that the political stroke of the Rat was irreparable, the Iroquois nations being so deeply impressed with the atrocity of this outrage, that it would be impossible soon to bring them to reason; and that, so far from condemning the conduct of this Huron, they were ready to enter into a treaty with him, because he had effected with his party no more than what a good warrior and a steady ally ought to have achieved.

No sooner had the barbarians completed, as far as they thought prudent, their work of destruction and slaughter, than they embarked for their native country, charged with the plunder they had made, and with two hundred prisoners, finding no opposition to their retreat. This disastrous incursion filled the minds of the inhabitants with astonishment, and afforded ample matter for reflection.

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The forts of Niagara and Catarocony were in consequence abandoned and blown up, and two vessels built for the purpose of navigating lake Ontario were burnt.

This year was however not equally unfortunate for every part of Canada. Whilst the Iroquois carried their ravages into the centre of the colony, M. d'Iberville and his brothers supported in the north the honour of the French, and the Abinaquis avenged, at the expence of the English, all the mischief which had been done by their allies.

M. de Siegnelay informed the Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny, that the great efforts which the King was necessitated to make in opposition to all the European powers united against France, would not permit him to send to America the reinforcements which had been demanded, nor to entertain for the present the thoughts of an enterprize in that quarter; and that a vigilant defence appeared to him more advantageous for his service, and for the safety of the colony. That it was, above all, necessary to re-unite the inhabitants in villages, in order to protect them against the savages; and, in fine, that the General might use with effect, in order to conclude a solid and honourable peace, the credit which he had acquired among the Iroquois,

quois, and the conciliatory circumstance of restoring them their countrymen who had returned from France.

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Whilst in Canada, the government could not comprehend why the court should find any difficulty in making an effort against the English; the council of the King were equally surprised, that the inhabitants of New France should refuse to change their place of habitation, and pursue in their arrangement a system which was conceived not to be attended with much inconvenience, and which was absolutely connected with their preservation. The one saw nothing more important for the service, than to deliver the colony from troublesome neighbours; the other judging of Canada by the provinces of the kingdom, could not conceive that there could be any obstacle to the changes proposed. Thus events only that more immediately interest, appear necessary, and that which is practised and established in one situation, appears to be every where practicable. It is however certain, that what was exacted from the inhabitants of Canada was much less easy to be put in execution, than it appeared to the minister by whom it was required.

The Count de Frontenac entertained no doubtful expectation that he should be able to conciliate the respect of the Iroquois. His hope was

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chiefly founded on the marks of esteem for his person which had been manifested by that people during his former residence in Canada; and he supposed, that in making a voyage up the country together with a great number of their chiefs, whose chains he had broken, he would regain their former sentiments of respect. He was at least assured of having engaged in his interest a brave Goyogouin captain named Oureouharé, the most accredited of all those whom he had led back from France, and to whom he had paid great attention during the voyage. He conducted him to Montreal, where, having found an Iroquois ambassador called Gagniogatow, who had made some insolent propositions to M. de Denonville, Oureouharé advised him to send back with him four of the companions of his chains, to announce to the cantons the return of their chiefs.

The Count followed this counsel. Oureouharé recommended it to these deputies to neglect nothing which could engage the cantons to send an embassy to their ancient father, in representing to them that they could not dispense with sending to felicitate him on his happy return, and to thank him for the kindness which he had shewn to their brethren. He charged them further to assure the nations, that they would experience from this General much tenderness and esteem;

esteem; and to declare particularly to his own
canton, that he would not return home if they
came not to ask him back from Ononthio, whom
he was resolved not to leave without his full
consent.

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The deputies acquitted themselves perfectly
well of their commission. On their arrival, the
cantons assembled, deliberated on their answer,
and sent it by the same ambassadors, who arrived
at Montreal on the sixth of March. They found
there neither M. de Frontenac, nor Oureouharé,
who had returned to Quebec. The deputies
were therefore sent to that place. They were
charged with six belts of porcelain; the first
marked the subject of their delay, caused by the
arrival of the Outaouais during winter; the se-
cond collar testified the joy of the five nations,
and of the Dutch their allies, to learn the return
of Oureouharé, whom they called General of all
the Iroquois. The third collar suggested what
was to be said by Onontacé in the names of the
five cantons, demanding the immediate return of
Oureouharé, and that he should be accompanied
by all the Iroquois who were prisoners among
the French, protesting at the same time that they
would not give up any of the French who were
in their hands, until Oureouharé should return
and give orders for their disposal. The fourth

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and fifth were addressed to Ononthio in the following words :

“ You say that you wish to establish the tree of peace which you had planted in your fort of Frontenac, but are you ignorant that the roots of that tree are withered by the blood which has there been spilt ? The places where the council was held are yet crimsoned with blood. That ground, where we were seized as prisoners, while invested with pacific missions, and placing confidence in the honour of your nation, is polluted by treachery and falsehood. The territory of the Tsonnonthouans, the largest of our villages, is desolated by the ravages of the French. Atone for all those evils, and you shall be at liberty to plant the tree of peace any where but in that situation.

“ You have with severity chastised your children ; your rods of correction have been too heavy, and too cutting. After this treatment, judge if I ought still to have spirit ? I assure you, my father, that I, Onontaé, am master of all the French prisoners. Make smooth the path from Galette, or from Chambly. Teganifforens, your favourite chief of our nation, shall there come to meet you : you may be accompanied thither by as many attendants as you please, and I shall lead with me an equal number.”

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The sixth collar intimated, that there was a party of Iroquois in the country, and to assure the French, that if they made any prisoners they should be well treated, and praying, that if any of the Iroquois were captured, they might be preserved; adding also reproaches to the conduct of the French for having killed twelve of their nation, for which, at the same time, they candidly owned that they had eaten some Frenchmen.

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As soon as the navigation of the rivers was open, the General acquainted the deputies that they might return, and Oureouharé put into their hands eight belts, which explained to them that the Count de Frontenac would enter into no treaty that should not be respected.

The belts implied, that Oureouharé wished the cantons to wipe away their tears, and to forget what was passed; that he learnt with pleasure a promise which the Outaouais had given, to restore to the Tsonnonthouans all the prisoners they had made from that canton: that he was still more gratified with the resolution which his brethren had taken, to save the lives of the French who had fallen into their hands, and that Ononthio had promised to act in the same manner, until he received from the five cantons an answer to the conditions he had offered: that with respect to his own situation, he thanked

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them for the anxiety they had expressed for him, but that this affection seemed to have grown weaker, they having not yet sent one of the chiefs in search of him as he had requested: that he conjured them to shew him, as soon as possible, this mark of attachment, that they might be convinced of the good will of their father Ononchio for the whole nation, and of the kind treatment which they should at all times experience. That it was at his instance that his father had allowed an officer to accompany the deputies, to exhort the nation not to listen to the Dutch, who had inspired them with false ideas; not to interfere with the concerns which Orange and Manhatti might have with the French, and to take no umbrage at the measures which might be adopted to chastise their neighbours, who had shaken off allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, whose interests the King of France had espoused. That he wished they would consider the French as their brethren. That he would no longer separate himself from his father Ononchio. That he would not return to his canton, although he had ample liberty of choice, if they came not to request him in the manner which he had pointed out. That they might depart in safety to Montreal, and be satisfied that the word he had given would not be disavowed, and that their confidence should not be abused.

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The officer who accompanied the deputies was the Chevalier d'Eau, who was first sent to Onontagué, to testify a particular respect for this canton, which the Governor courted more than any of the others, and to gain better information of what might be going forward. The conquest of Corlar, of which accounts had now arrived, and the return of those employed on this expedition, gave the Governor reason to assume a higher tone with the Iroquois, and he by this means lowered their haughtiness.

The northern allies of the French had long entertained an ardent wish to connect themselves with the English in commerce, by the intervention of the cantons, as the articles of the latter were afforded at a much cheaper rate than those of the French. It had been the prevalent policy to endeavour to keep those nations at war with the Iroquois, in order to interrupt the communication through their country. But interest, whose influence over the human mind is ever powerful, soon taught the savages of the north the advantage of entering into an alliance with the Iroquois.

The Outaouais sent ambassadors to the cantons, together with the prisoners whom they had captured in war. Some opposition to this proceeding having been made by the French agents and missionaries, they were answered by the savages,

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vages, that too great reliance had already been placed on the protection of the Governor-General.

They added, that they supposed Frenchmen to have been warriors ; but experience had evinced that they were much inferior to the Iroquois. It was not then surprising they lost much time in doing nothing ; the consciousness of their own imbecility restrained them. After having witnessed with what tameness they allowed themselves to be massacred in the island of Montreal, it was evident they were in a situation to afford no assistance. Their protection was therefore not only become useless, but prejudicial, by the engagements into which the Outaouais had been unprofitably drawn. Their weakness and deficiency in courage appeared in a still more conspicuous manner at Tsonnonthouan, where, surprised at the resistance of the enemy, they were satisfied with making war upon the corn, the huts, and canoes ; and since that period they had not presumed to make a further attempt, except that of procuring peace by every species of unworthy expedient and intrigue. They had not even the courage to defend themselves when attacked ; and, contrary to all the examples which experience had afforded to undeceive them, they obstinately hoped for an accommodation, conceiving it a less evil to submit to the imperious dictates of an insolent enemy, than again to

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renew the combat. Their alliance was not less injurious on account of their commerce, than on account of their wars. They had deprived the Outaouais of traffic with the English, much more advantageous than their own, and this against all the laws of protection, which consist in maintaining freedom of commerce. Besides, these pretended protectors let fall upon their allies the whole weight of the war, whilst, by a conduct replete with duplicity, they were endeavouring to shelter themselves under a dishonourable treaty. In a word, whoever should be made acquainted with the situation of their affairs, would rather suppose the allies to be the protectors of the French, than a people protected by the power of that nation.

M. de Frontenac found it necessary, in order to re-establish the character of the French in the opinion of the savages, to form some plan of giving to the English sufficient occupation in their own territories.

This appeared the only means of restraining the incursions of the Iroquois, and of rendering them more reasonable, by making them sensible that they ought not to place too great a reliance on the assistance of the Governor of New York. Thus, the native allies of the French, seeing a defensive war which was badly sustained, converted into a vigorous attack, would resume their

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their former sentiments of esteem for the French nation, or would at least be convinced that an alliance with the enemies of that people would occasion the same misfortunes, which by a separation from them they were endeavouring to avoid, and might perhaps unite them more closely than ever to the cause of the French.

M. de Frontenac having arranged the general outlines of his plan, sent to acquaint M. Durantaye, who commanded at Michilimakinac, that he might assure the Hurons and the Outaouais, that in a short time they would find a considerable alteration in affairs. He prepared a large convoy to reinforce that post, and took measures for raising three parties of men, for the purpose of invading, by different avenues, the settlements of the English. The first was formed at Montreal, composed of a hundred and ten men, commanded by M. d'Aillebout de Mantel, a lieutenant. This party was destined for New York, but the choice of the posts which they should attack was left to the officers, and they did not think proper to arrange this point until they were ready to enter the enemy's country. It was proposed to attack Orange, but the detachments being averse to that enterprise on account of the difficulties which were likely to attend it, M. de Mantel suggested an attempt upon Corlar. It was towards evening when this
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body arrived within two leagues of that place, which a Canadian with nine savages was detached to reconnoitre. They found the inhabitants unguarded, and without being perceived, they rejoined the party of the French. On account of the excessive cold, an immediate attack was resolved on. Corlar had at that time the figure of a parallelogram, and had only two gates. The one was on the outlet leading to Orange, which was six leagues distant, the other towards the road on which the French were advancing. They found the gates open, and marched into the town without resistance. As soon as they entered, the savages and French set up the cry of war, the signal agreed upon for their joining in one body. Mantel attacked a fort, where he found the people under arms, and met with some resistance, but a passage being at length forced into it, the defendants were put to the sword, and the fort was reduced to ashes. Little resistance was encountered elsewhere, and every house was pillaged and burnt.

The French were too near to Orange to remain long in possession of the ruins of Corlar; they therefore decamped at noon on the following day. The booty they had acquired, an officer who had been wounded, and whom they were obliged to carry, the prisoners amounting to forty, and the want of provisions, against which

they had neglected sufficiently to guard, retarded much the retreat. Many would have perished through hunger, had they not found a resource by living upon horse-flesh. The number of horses which amounted originally to fifty, was reduced to six, on their arrival at Montreal. The extremity of want obliged them to separate, when some of the parties were attacked, by which they sustained a loss of three savages and sixteen Frenchmen.

The Algonquins and Abenakis had lately returned from Acadia, where they had distinguished themselves in an expedition which was attended with success. The other two parties, destined for separate enterprises, were raised in the governments of Three Rivers and Quebec; the General thinking by this means to create in the parties an emulation which fails not of being productive of good effects, when the efforts are separately directed, and when every circumstance which might create jealousy is sedulously avoided.

The district of Three Rivers was at that time but thinly peopled, being unable to afford for the expedition more than fifty men, including five Algonquins and twenty Sokakis. This little party, which was headed by the Sieur Hertel, marched from the town on the 28th of January, went by land to the southward, leaving lake Champlain

Champlain upon its left, turned to the eastward, and, after a long and difficult march, arrived on the 27th of March near an English village called Sementels, which had been previously reconnoitered by the scouts. M. Hertel divided his company into three bands. The first, composed of fifteen men, had orders to attack a large fortified house; the second, which contained only eleven men, was to attack a pallisadoed fort having four bastions; the third, which he commanded in person, was destined to attempt a larger fort in which some cannon were mounted.

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The several parts were executed with conduct and valour. The enemy, who were unprepared, were obliged to surrender, after a considerable number were cut in pieces. The village was pillaged and destroyed. The party of French in their retreat were attacked by some English who had come from a neighbouring town, but an advantageous post which they had taken near a bridge enabled them to escape.

M. Hertel learnt on his way to Quebec, that a party of men from thence, commanded by M. Portneuf, was about the distance of two days' journey from him. This body, which consisted of the company of M. de Manneval, governor of Acadia, reinforced by some Canadians and sixty Abenakis from the falls of Chaudiere, departed from Quebec about the same time that M.

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Hertel had left Three Rivers. Their stock of provisions was extremely circumscribed, because a scarcity prevailed this year throughout the whole colony, and obliged them to trust to the chase on their march. It was towards the middle of May before they arrived at a village of the Abinaquis, where Portneuf had expected to increase his number of men, but he found it destitute of inhabitants. On marching further, he discovered another village of the same nation, situated on the borders of Kinnebequi: he learnt that warriors had a short time before been there on their return from an incursion into the English settlements. He met with them, and persuaded them together with other savages to accompany him, and on the twenty-fifth he encamped four leagues from Kaskeb , which he had resolved to attack. This was a fortified village upon the sea-coast, containing some pieces of cannon, with ammunition and provisions. Four savages and two Frenchmen placed themselves, at night, in ambuscade near the fort, and an Englishman falling into their hands at dawn of day, was killed. The savages afterwards sent forth their cry of war, and towards noon fifty men of the garrison advanced in good order towards the spot from whence they conceived the cry had proceeded. They were almost upon it without having perceived any traces of the enemy.

enemy. The French, who beheld their approach, discharged their pieces at the distance of ten paces, and without giving them time to recover, fell upon them with their swords and hatchets, and profiting by the disorder into which two attacks so sudden and brisk had thrown them, killed and took prisoners the whole number excepting four, who escaped into the fort. In the mean time M. Hertel with his party joined M. Portneuf. On the nights of the 26th and 27th of May they encamped on the sea-coast, fifty paces distant from the place, covering themselves with a strong breast-work of earth. The trenches were began on the following night: the Canadians as well as the savages were ignorant of this mode of attack; but perseverance, and an ardent desire of success, supplied the want of skill. They found in some small forts which had been abandoned, many necessary utensils for removing the earth; and the advances became so rapid on the 28th, that the besieged demanded a parley, and on the following day surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

To regain the confidence of their allies, it was necessary that the French should not only re-establish the reputation of their arms, but place those savage nations in a state to be independent of the commerce of the English, and beyond the dread of the hostile efforts of the Iroquois. A

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large convoy was therefore sent to Michilimakinac, under the conduct of the Sieur de la Porte Louvigny, accompanied by Nicholas Perrot. The latter was charged with presents from the Governor-General for the savages, and the former was to be stationed at Michilimakinac in quality of commandant.

M. Durantaye, whom he superseded, had, by his prudence and firmness, preserved to his sovereign all the most advanced posts, in times the most perilous and difficult, and lived there with the greatest disinterestedness. His recall was supposed to have been occasioned from his being on a friendly footing with the missionaries; and it was certain, that this unanimity which was thought by the late Governor-General so essential to the public service, was not agreeable to M. de Frontenac. On the other hand, merit and virtue when they become conspicuous, fail not to attract the envy of many, who would take every opportunity of ruining those, the splendor of whose qualities throw them in the shade. Such characters were not wanting in the case of M. Durantaye; and they conveyed false impressions into the mind of the Governor, already too susceptible of prejudices.

The convoy which M. de Louvigny was conducting, was accompanied by a hundred and forty-three Frenchmen. Six savages also embarked

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barked with them, and they were escorted part of the way by a guard of thirty men. They departed on the 22d of May, and on the following day discovered two canoes of the Iroquois in a place called the *Chats*. M. Louvigny supposed they were not alone, and thirty men were detached in three canoes, and sixty men by land to surround the enemy. The first fell into an ambuscade, and sustained a close fire; the Iroquois, who were concealed, taking their aim with such certainty, that nearly the whole were wounded. At length Louvigny landed with fifty men, and charged the enemy so powerfully and rapidly that thirty Iroquois were killed, many wounded, and several taken, and the remainder with difficulty made their escape in their canoes, which amounted to thirteen. The defeat of this party was afterwards productive of good effects. The convoy arrived at Michilimakinac at the time when the ambassadors of the French allies were on the eve of taking their departure to conclude a treaty with the Iroquois.

But when they were made acquainted with the successes of the French, saw the strength of the convoy, and the great quantity of presents and merchandise which had been conveyed thither, they became more strongly attached to the French interests, and delayed not to give proofs of their sincerity. A hundred and ten canoes, carrying

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furs to the value of a hundred thousand crowns, conducted by more than three hundred savages from all the northern nations, departed a little time after for Montreal, where they found the Count de Frontenac, who had come thither to be in readiness to defend that government, which was threatened with an invasion.

A party of Iroquois having descended to Montreal by the river La Priere, were discovered by an inhabitant who gave advice of this circumstance to the Sieur Colombet, a reduced lieutenant. This officer collected twenty-five men, and went in search of the enemy, who were superior in number, and charged the French with great resolution. Colombet and great part of his men were killed, and the Iroquois lost twenty-five men. Some days before, another troop of savages had carried off sixteen people, consisting chiefly of women and children, from the borders of the river Becancourt. They were pursued, and the barbarians, with a view to be unembarrassed in their flight, massacred all their prisoners.

On the 29th of August the Chevalier de Clermont, who was ordered to ascend the river Sorel to observe the enemy, arrived at Montreal, and reported that he had seen a great number of warriors on lake Champlain, and that he had even been pursued as far as Chambly. Signals

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were immediately made to assemble the troops and militia. The Count de Frontenac went to La Prairie de la Magdeleine, which he had assigned as a rendezvous, and the whole of the savages assembled there, having not even left at Montreal a guard on their merchandise.

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Louis Atherihala, one of the most considerable chiefs of the rapids of St. Louis, made a speech in the name of the Iroquois Christians. He afterwards addressed himself to the Outaouais, and informed them that he was instructed concerning all their negociations with the cantons, and was not ignorant that they had now renounced them. But that upon this point there still remained some shadow of distrust, and he solicited them to declare briefly the reasons which had induced them to treat thus with the enemy, without the participation of their father, and what was their present disposition with regard to the French.

"It is true," replied the Outaouaisian orator, "that we had restored to the Iroquois some slaves, and have promised to send them more; but attend to the conduct which has been held towards us, and you will then judge if we are in the wrong. After having engaged us in war, they obliged us to a cessation of hostilities; and again to take up the hatchet, without instructing us of the cause. We comprehended none of these variations in measures, and we were also astonished

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astonished at the little vigour with which the war was sustained. At length, fearing that the French, sufficiently embarrassed by defending themselves, would suffer us to be overpowered, without having the means of relieving us, we thought it time to consult for our safety. We have sent messages, and have received answers ; but the negotiation was incomplete. The first of our ambassadors died among the Tsonnonthouans ; the others returned to Michilimakinac without having concluded any terms. In this crisis of affairs we heard of the return of our ancient father, and no sooner did he announce to us his pleasure, than we rejected every thought of accommodation with the Iroquois, and are come to receive further instructions concerning his future intentions."

When he had ceased to speak, the Huron orator arose, and said, for his part he had never departed from the alliance of the French, nor from the obedience which he owed to his father, to whom he was resolved, whatever might happen, to remain always faithful. The General then broke up the conference, lest it should degenerate into altercation, and told the assembly, that as soon as he had repelled the enemy far off the lands, each might return to his house.

A party of the Iroquois fell upon a quarter named *la Souche*, about a quarter of a league distant

distant from the spot where the army were encamped. They there found inhabitants and soldiers cutting down corn, and at some distance from each other, although they had been warned to remain ever on their guard, and within reach of mutual aid. The greater part were without arms, and the commandant of the quarter neglected the precaution of placing sentinels. Some nevertheless defended themselves well, and the Iroquois lost six men. On the side of the French, ten soldiers, eleven inhabitants, and four women were taken or killed. The horned cattle were destroyed, and the houses and the hay burnt, after which the enemy retired into the woods.

The day on which the adventure took place the General assembled, for the last time, the savages, who were impatient for their dismissal. He told them, that their interest required them to make war on the Iroquois, and that he would not lay aside the hatchet until that nation was humbled. He exhorted them to harass those barbarians, until they should be in a condition to attack them in their country. He accompanied his discourse with considerable presents and engaging manners, which he well knew how to assume, and the savages departed well pleased with him, and with all the French.

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The Iroquois continued their desultory incursions, and several of the inhabitants were killed in different parts of the country.

These unhappy events caused much disquietude to the Governor-General. He called to him Oureouharé, and, after having with brevity explained to him the conduct which he had always held towards his nation, both during the period of his first command, and since his return from France, he said, that at least he might have ventured to entertain a hope, that gratitude for the benefits with which he had loaded him in particular, might have engaged him to open the eyes of his countrymen; that he either must be insensible to the impressions of kindness, if he failed in this act of duty; or his nation must have little estimation for him, if he was unable to prevail on it to adopt counsels more reasonable, and more consonant to its genuine interests.

The Iroquois chief appeared mortified at this discourse, of which he felt the whole force: he nevertheless seemed calm and unaltered; he begged the General to recollect, that on his return from France he had found the cantons engaged in an alliance with the English, which it was difficult to set aside; and so vehemently enraged against the French, whose treacherous conduct had forced them into this alliance, that it was necessary to await the operation of time and

and of conjunctures, towards effecting a more favourable disposition; that for his part, he had done nothing with which he could reproach himself; that the refusal he had made to return to his cantons, where his presence was ardently desired, ought to banish all suspicion of his fidelity; that if notwithstanding a mark so unequivocal of his attachment to the French they did him the injustice to entertain sentiments to his prejudice, he would not delay to dispel them.

This answer made the Count de Frontenac repent of his ill humour, and of the distrust with which it had inspired him; he immediately gave marks of his friendship for Oureouharé, and resolved to conciliate more than ever the attachment of a person so rational, and from whom he was convinced that great advantages might be derived.

Information was now received that an armament, whose supposed destination was to lay siege to Quebec, had sailed from Boston. The Governor-General entertained doubts that a fleet so considerable could be fitted out without the least intelligence of such preparations having before reached him. The squadron consisted of a frigate of forty guns, a sloop of war of sixteen guns, an armed vessel of eight guns, and four gallies. These were under the command of Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, of
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obscure origin, but who, by the force of his genius, had raised himself to distinction and to fortune.

After having captured all the fortified places in Acadia, the island of Newfoundland, and one or two settlements in the river St Laurence, the English fleet advanced to Tadoussac, before it was with certainty known at Quebec that an enemy was coming against it. Upon an express being sent to the Governor, who was then at Montreal, he hastened to Quebec, bringing with him every assistance which could be spared from the two governments, and from the country through which he passed. He found on his arrival, that great exertions had been made by the town major to put the garrison in a state of defence, and that a number of the neighbouring inhabitants had been called into the town; and, although they had laboured on the fortifications for no more than five days, they had sufficiently secured the garrison every where from being surprised by a *coup de main*.

The General added some intrenchments which he found necessary, and confirmed the order which the major had judiciously given to the captains of the companies of militia of Beaupré, of Beauport, of the island of Orleans, and of the coast of Lauson, which covered Quebec on the borders of the basin, not to quit their posts until

until they should see the enemy make a descent, and attack the body of the place; they should then hold themselves in readiness to march wherever they should be called.

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The coast of the river along the south channel of Orleans was lined with an armed militia, and a detachment of men under the command of an officer of activity and merit was dispatched from Quebec, for the purpose of watching the movements of the hostile squadron.

Several vessels were expected from France, and it was much to be apprehended they might fall into the hands of the enemy. In order, if possible, to guard against this accident, M. de Frontenac sent, by the north channel of Orleans, two canoes well equipped, with orders to descend until they should find those vessels, if in the river, and acquaint them with the situation of affairs.

The fortifications at that time commenced at the rocky bank above the Intendant's palace, on the borders of the river St. Charles, and stretching along the upper town, which they environed, terminated at the mountain called Cape Diamond. They were also continued from the palace all along the summit of the rock which forms the north-east boundary of the town, and pallisadoed to the cloisters of the seminary, where they joined the precipitous rock called

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Sault au Matelot, on which there was a battery of three guns. A second pallisade placed beyond the other reached to the same place, and was intended for a cover to the infantry.

The lower town contained two batteries, each of three eighteen-pounder guns, filling up the intervals between those in the higher town. The outlets, which had no gates, were barricaded with strong beams of timber, and with casks filled with earth, on the top of which patereroes were planted. The road which led from the lower to the upper town was intercepted by three different intrenchments, composed of barrels, and bags filled with earth, and of *cheveaux de frize*. During the siege another battery was formed at the *Sault au Matelot*, and a third at the gate which conducts to the river St. Charles. Some pieces of cannon were also disposed on the higher ground, and on the walls of a wind-mill, which served the purpose of a cavalier.

On the 16th of October, at three in the morning, M. de Vaudreuil, who had been detached to watch the movements of the ships, returned to Quebec, and reported that he had left them at about three leagues distance, at a place then called *l'Arbreséc*, and when day appeared, they were distinctly seen from the heights. The squadron was composed of thirty-four vessels of different descriptions, and it was said they contained

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tained several thousand men, who were to act on shore. As it advanced, the smaller vessels were ranged along the coast of Beauport, between the island of Orleans and the St. Charles, the other vessels occupying the centre of the great channel. About ten o'clock the whole came to an anchor. A boat with a white flag was soon after discovered to proceed from the commodore's ship. It contained an officer with a trumpet, to summon the garrison to surrender. When he landed, he was conveyed blindfold to an apartment in the government house, in which the General with several of his officers were assembled. Upon his eyes being unfolded, he delivered a challenge for surrendering the garrison, which was peremptorily rejected.

The principal design of M. de Frontenac, was to encourage the enemy to cross the river St. Charles, as they could not with effect attack the garrison but from this side. His reason was, that the river being fordable only at low water, when they had once passed it the besieged might, without much hazard, go to engage them, and in the event of a defeat the enemy could not easily regain their boats, in effecting which they would be obliged to wade for a considerable distance through the mud. If, on the contrary, the French passed the river to meet the English, they would be subjected to similar disadvantages.

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At mid-day on the 18th, almost all the boats belonging to the vessels, filled with troops, were seen to direct their way towards the banks of the St. Charles ; but as it could not be ascertained in what particular place they would land, they met with no resistance. No sooner had they disembarked, than M. de Frontenac sent a detachment of the militia of Montreal and Three Rivers to harass them. They were joined by inhabitants from Beauport, and amounted in all to three hundred men, the body which had disembarked being fifteen hundred. The borders of the river were marshy, covered with brushwood and broken by stones ; the tide being low, the French were obliged to wade through the mud in order to reach the enemy. Their mode of attack was chiefly by skirmish, and sometimes by platoon firing. In this situation the English, unable to profit from their superiority of men, could only fight in the same savage manner in which they were assailed.

Unaccustomed to this mode of engagement the latter became disconcerted, and deceived with respect to the numbers of those whom they encountered. The attack continued for about an hour. The Canadians leapt from one rock to another, all around the English, who, unacquainted with the ground, were obliged to remain together, and keep up a constant discharge, which

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which produced, from the circumstance already mentioned, but little effect upon the former, who alternately appeared and retired, and whose fire had considerable impression upon the close files of the latter, who sustained great loss of numbers. Towards evening the Canadians retreated into the garrison, and the English remained encamped near the scene of action.

Four of the largest vessels came the same evening to anchor near the town. The second in command, who carried a blue flag, went somewhat to the left, opposite the *Sault au Matelot*. The commander in chief was upon his right, and the third in command on the left, all opposing the Lower Town. Another vessel advanced towards Cape Diamond. The first discharge proceeded from the town, and was answered by a warm cannonade which continued on both sides. The fire from the ships was principally directed against the Upper Town, whose situation is too elevated to sustain much damage from guns fired from ships of war.

The cannonading re-commenced on the following day, but was continued on both sides with less vigour. One of the ships became so much damaged from the battery on the *Sault au Matelot*, and that on the left at the water's edge, that she was drawn off to a more distant station. The large vessel in the centre, having received many

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shots through the hull, followed the example of the first, and at noon the fire totally ceased, the vessels proceeding up the river, beyond Cape Diamond.

The troops remained during the night quiet in their camp, and early next morning arranged themselves in order for battle. About noon they began to move, directing their march towards the town, having platoons on their wings, and some savages as an advanced guard. They proceeded in good order along the borders of the St. Charles, until M. M. de Lingueil and Saint Helen, at the head of two hundred volunteers, intercepted their way, and skirmishing in the same manner as before, made such continual and efficacious discharges upon them, that they were compelled to enter the brushwood, from whence they kept up a heavy fire, obliging the French to retreat.

During this action M. de Frontenac advanced in person at the head of three battalions, and having arranged them on the borders of the St. Charles, resolved to cross it, if the volunteers should be too heavily pressed. The commodore landed on the following night six pieces of six-pounder ordnance, and the English marched with their artillery in the hope of making a breach in the fortifications. The Sieur Villeu, a lieutenant, who had obtained from the General
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a small detachment of men, set out before the English left their encampments, and was followed by several other little parties, in order to support him. Villeu, who first encountered the enemy, prepared an ambuscade, into which he drew them, by skirmishing and retreating. He there sustained for a time their efforts, and the enemy seeing that they could not easily oblige him to retreat, formed a disposition to surround him; but one of the detachments which had been destined for this purpose, fell into a second ambuscade, when the inhabitants of Beauport, Beaupré, and the island of Orleans, were prepared for their reception. The French found themselves however too weak long to sustain the combat, and they began to retreat by degrees, fighting at the same time, until they arrived at a house surrounded with pallisades, and situated on an eminence. They there halted, and getting under cover of the pallisades, kept up so steady a fire, that they stopped the pursuing army.

The ships which had ascended the St. Lawrence dropped down with the tide, and in passing the town exchanged some shots. On the night of the 22d the army reembarked. Nothing more disconcerted Sir Wm. Phipps than to find all the troops and militia of the colony assembled at Quebec. He had reckoned upon a division being made at Montreal, which would there have re-

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tained a considerable body of men. But this part of the plan, which had been settled before the departure of the fleet from New England, failed on account of the dissatisfaction of the Iroquois, who having marched with the English for some days, afterwards returned to their country.

When it became known that the division against Montreal had not succeeded, the Commodore, already discouraged by the unsuccessful attempts which he had made against Quebec, determined to raise the siege.

The English had made several endeavours to bring off the six pieces of cannon and ammunition which they had left at their camp, but the French, who had taken possession of them, repeatedly repulsed the boats that were ordered for this service. It appeared that the failure of ammunition was the cause of the measure which Sir Wm. Phipps adopted. On the evening of the 23d the fleet weighed anchor, and descended the river about three leagues, from whence a negociation for the exchange of prisoners took place. The Commodore then proceeded on his route, considerably mortified at the unfortunate issue of an expedition, on which he had himself expended a part of his fortune. His inquietude was augmented by the total privation of assistance from pilots, without whom it became perilous for some of the vessels of his fleet, which
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were large, to navigate the river ; and it is said, that nine of the number were lost.

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On the 12th of November the ships expected from France arrived at Quebec ; at the news of an enemy's fleet they ascended a little way into the Saguenay, where they were concealed by the lofty banks, until the English fleet had passed them on its return.

Their appearance occasioned sensations of satisfaction, although they tended not to remedy the scarcity which soon became extreme, because the incursions of the Iroquois during the spring had not permitted the inhabitants to labour in the fields. The troops were distributed into such parts of the country as had not suffered from those causes, and were cheerfully received.

A party of Iroquois appeared, towards the beginning of May, on the side of Montreal. Their number amounted to a thousand, and having established their camp at the entrance of the grand river of the Outaouais, they formed two detachments, one of a hundred and twenty men, which took its route towards the north, the other of two hundred men, which turned towards the south. The first threw itself on a part of Montreal called *Pointe aux Trembles*, where it burnt thirty houses and barns, and took prisoners some inhabitants, whom they treated with their accustomed cruelties.

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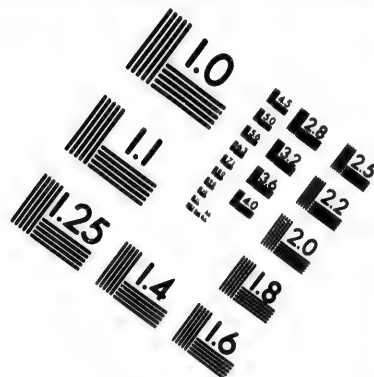
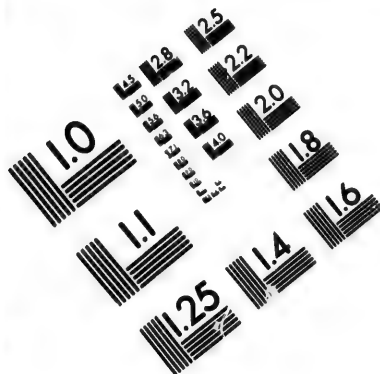
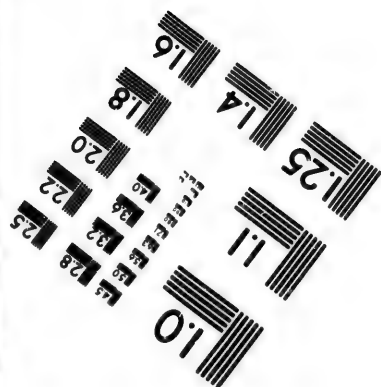
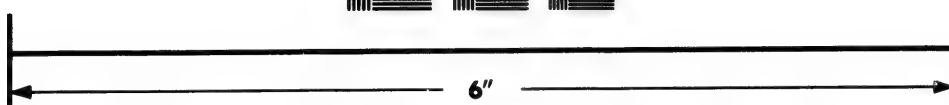
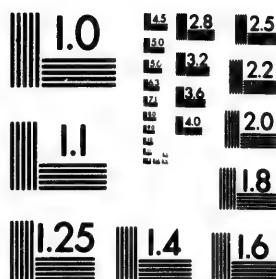


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The second, in which were twenty English and some Mahingans, directed its course between Chambly and la Prairie de la Magdeleine, where it surprised twelve savages of the rapids of St. Louis; but on the following day, the Agniers who were of this party brought them back to their village, and declared that they were come to treat for peace; it was however soon perceived that their real intention was to alienate, if they could, from the interests of the French, the inhabitants of this village, but the attempt was unattended with success. A third party, consisting of eighty men, attacked the Iroquois Christians of the mountain, and having invested them on all sides, carried off by day thirty-five women and children, and secured their retreat by skirmishing.

Several other bands less numerous spread themselves from Repentigny to the islands of Richlieu, committing great devastations every where, because the regulars and militia could not keep the field on account of the want of provisions. Having at length procured a sufficient quantity to last for some days, a party of the militia joined the Sieur de la Mine, a captain who had lately left Montreal. They discovered several of the Onneyouths, who had taken shelter in an old house in the parish of St. Sulpicius. The Chevalier de Vaudreuil, accompanied by some officers,

officers, several men, and Oureouharé, who was suspected to have a correspondence with his nation, came also to St. Sulpicius, fell upon some of the savages by surprise, and killed the whole, except two, who were wounded, and who escaped into the woods. But to dislodge those in possession of the house was found a more difficult enterprise. At their first onset they lost one of their best officers, which inspired the barbarians with courage, and without the exertion of extraordinary efforts, a hundred and twenty Frenchmen were in danger of being defeated by twelve Iroquois posted in a ruinous house. The house was at length set on fire, and the savages endeavoured to cut a passage through the French with their hatchets, but two or three of them having been killed, five were captured, whom the inhabitants unpitifully burnt, from a conviction that the only means of restraining the cruelty of these barbarians, was to exercise upon them equal torments with those they were accustomed to inflict on all their prisoners.

Intelligence having been received that a party composed of English, Mahingans, and Iroquois, were preparing to march for the purpose of attacking Montreal, the Chevalier de Callieres assembled eight hundred men, and encamped on the Prairie de la Magdeleine. He after detached several scouting parties, one of which discovered
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a canoe of the enemy near Chambly on the river Sorel. On the report of this circumstance he conceived Chambly to be in danger, and he sent thither two hundred men, with orders, if the enemy attacked that post, to enter into it for its defence; but, if they passed beyond it, to be careful to conceal themselves from their view, and to follow their track, in order to fall on their rear, whilst he himself should engage them in front. Among the Christian savages were three chiefs of great reputation. Oureouharé commanded the Hurons of Lorette; an Iroquois named Paul conducted the inhabitants of the *Saut de Saint Louis*, and those of the Mountain; and La Routine, an Algonquin captain, headed a large party of his nation. The fort of the *Prairie de la Magdeleine* stood about thirty paces from the borders of the St. Lawrence, on a steep ground between two meadows, one of which near a place called the Fork is intersected by a small river at the distance of cannon shot from the fort. Between the two runs another stream, on which there stood a mill; it was on this side, at the left of the fort, that the militia encamped. Some of the Outaouais, who happened to be at Montreal when the alarm was given, had joined them. The regular troops encamped on the right, and the officers had their tents pitched opposite to them, upon a small elevated ground.

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An hour before day, the sentinel who was posted in the mill perceived some people passing along the height on which the fort was placed, and he gave the alarm by firing off his fusil. They were part of the enemy, who gliding between the rivulet of the Fork and the Ravine, gained the great river, and finding the quarters of the militia almost abandoned, drove away the few men who remained and lodged themselves there. Some inhabitants, and six of the Outaouais were killed in this surprise. At the alarm given by the sentinel, M. de Saint Cyrque, an old captain who commanded in the absence of M. de Callieres, marched at the head of the troops, placed them in two divisions, and surrounded the fort. The battalion which Saint Cyrque commanded in person first came in view of the former quarters of the militia, and this officer, uncertain that the enemy were in possession of them, stopped to be acquainted with the fact. He instantly received a discharge of musquetry, by which he and two of his officers were killed. The other battalion arrived at the moment, and charged the enemy, who after a vigorous resistance, and seeing themselves on the point of having the whole French army to engage, retreated in good order. They were allowed to go off without molestation. They had only six men killed and thirty wounded. The loss of the French was more considerable.

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able. The scalps of many Frenchmen were carried off, and the Iroquois set up a loud cry when they had retreated to a small distance. Being about to enter the woods, they perceived a small detachment, whom they followed, and forming an ambuscade, killed the whole of its members. Elated by this success they returned by the way they had advanced, but before they had proceeded two leagues their scouts discovered another party of French and savages under the command of M. de Valrenes. They had only seen the van of this body, and believing it not to be considerable, they hesitated not to attack it with such resolution as would have disconcerted an officer less firm and experienced than Valrenes. He found two large trees that had fallen, and behind these he entrenched his troops, making them lie down to avoid the first fire of the enemy. They afterwards arose, and forming themselves into three divisions, charged the enemy with such order and impetuosity that they every where gave way. They however recovered, and after a combat of one hour and a half, they were obliged to disband, and the route became complete. The French had sixty men killed and as many wounded, of whom several died. An Englishman who was taken prisoner gave information, that, on the return of the first party, another of four hundred men were to have advanced; that
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five hundred Iroquois were to arrive at Cataracony, and that their design was to destroy the harvest of the colony. But no more signs of an enemy appearing, the harvest, whose failure would have reduced the settlement to the last extremity, was reaped in tranquillity, and proved to be abundant.

On receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy, M. de Frontenac proceeded from Quebec to Montreal, and on his arrival was informed of their departure and defeat. He received soon after a letter from the Governor-General of New England, requesting that some prisoners which the Abinaquis had made in his territory might be restored, and proposing a neutrality in America, notwithstanding the hostilities which in Europe continued between their two Sovereigns. It was believed that this proposal was not dictated by sincerity, because he had not mentioned an intention of sending back the French who were detained at Boston.

The Iroquois continued, without intermission, to pursue their hostility to the French: two women who had been made prisoners, having escaped in the beginning of November, informed the Chevalier de Callieres, that two parties of three hundred and fifty men each were on their march to surprise the settlement of Saut de Saint Louis. On this advice the Governor sent to
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that village a party of troops, and distributed another party in the neighbouring forts. The protection of Montreal was committed to the inhabitants. A few days after, one of the parties of the Iroquois, which had descended by lake Ontario, appeared in view of the *Saut*, but without forsaking the woods. The French went out against these barbarians, and for two days had some sharp skirmishes, in which the loss on both sides was nearly equal, when the enemy, who had relied on a surprise, retired.

The second party entered by lake Champlain, but some of them having withdrawn, and the chiefs having learnt that the first party had retreated, conceived it imprudent to proceed.

1692.

In the beginning of February M. de Callieres received orders from M. de Frontenac to raise a detachment of men to send into that immense peninsula, which is formed by the junction of the St. Lawrence and the great river of the Outaouais. The Iroquois frequently went thither in the winter, for the chase, and it was reported they were then in great numbers in that territory. Three hundred men, composed of French and savages, were raised, and marched under the orders of M. de Beaucourt, a captain.

This officer, on arriving at the isle of Toniatos, which is at a small distance from Cataracony, met there fifty Tsonnonthouans, who had

thus far advanced in pursuing the chase, with a design afterwards to make an irruption on the French settlements, and to prevent the inhabitants from sowing their corn. The French attacked them in their huts, killed twenty-four, took sixteen, and liberated an officer named La Plante, who had been captured three years before, and who not being at first known, on account of his savage habiliments, was upon the point of being killed as an Iroquois. This expedition terminated here; but it was learnt from the prisoners that another troop of a hundred Iroquois of the same canton were on a hunting party at a place on the river of the Outaouais, called, the Fall of Chaudiere; that their intention was to canton themselves there until the melting of the snows; that two hundred Onnontagués, commanded by one of their bravest chiefs, named La Chaudiere Noire, was expected to join them, and that it was proposed to remain there during the summer, to exclude the French from the passage to or from Michilimakinac.

As a large convoy of furs from all the countries of the north and west was expected, it was thought necessary to send a strong escort for its protection; but M. Callieres could not leave his government without defence, because he had occasion for all his troops to guard the people who were occupied in the labours of husbandry. He therefore

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therefore gave intelligence to the Count de Frontenac of the accounts which had been conveyed to him: this General, persuaded that the defeat of the fifty Tfonnonthouans already mentioned had disconcerted the measures of the Iroquois, ordered that he should immediately send a person named S. Michel with forty Canadian Voyageurs, to carry his commands to Michilimakinac, and that they should be escorted by three well-armed canoes, until they should have passed the Fall of Chaudiere.

The order was obeyed, and the escort conducted the Canadians to the place pointed out, without having seen a single Iroquois; but, a few days afterwards, the Sieur St. Michel having perceived some tracks, and also two Iroquois who appeared to him as scouts, doubted not that the Chaudiere Noire was at hand with his troop, and therefore returned to Montreal. He had not long disembarked when M. de Frontenac, who was then at that place, made him again depart with thirty Frenchmen and thirty savages. He was followed by an officer named Tilly de S. Pierre, who went by the river *du Lièvre*, which discharges itself into the river of the Outaouais, five leagues lower than the Fall of Chaudiere. St. Michel, on arriving at the Portage de Chats, the same spot from whence he had returned on his first voyage, saw again two scouts, and perceived

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ceived at the same time a great number of canoes, which savages were putting into the water. He conceived it imprudent to expose his party to a contest which would be extremely unequal, and took, a second time, the road to Montreal. Three days after his arrival, sixty savages from the distant lands, charged with great quantities of furs, and who had descended by the river du Lièvre, also arrived, and said that they had met M. de S. Pierre beyond the reach of danger from an enemy. They disposed of their articles of commerce, and requested an escort to conduct them to a place where they were to take an unfrequented path.

St. Michel accompanied them with a guard of thirty men, commanded by M. de la Gemberaye, a lieutenant, who had under him La Fresniere, eldest son of the Sieur Hertel. This body having arrived at the *long Sault* of the great river, where for a certain distance the baggage must be carried over land, whilst a part of the men were occupied in mounting the empty canoes, and others marched along the border of the river to cover them, a discharge of fusils made by persons concealed dispersed all the savages, who formed a second band, and killed several Frenchmen.

The Iroquois immediately forsaking their ambuscade, threw themselves with fury on the remaining Frenchmen, and in the confusion which

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an attack so fierce and unexpected had occasioned, they who attempted to regain their canoes made them wheel into the current; so that the enemy possessed a double advantage over those, who were obliged at the same time to defend themselves, and to struggle with the rapidity of the waters. La Gemberaye and three other officers defended themselves with such obstinacy as would have saved them, if they had not been abandoned by their savages. But as they had lost almost the whole of their soldiers, they could take no other measure than to retreat with all possible dispatch. Unhappily the canoe which contained St. Michel and the Hertels was taken. La Gemberaye and some soldiers were fortunate enough to escape.

The Chaudiere Noire afterwards made a descent upon a part of the island of Montreal called *La Chesnaye*, and carried off from thence three young savages, and fourteen inhabitants who were making hay.

The situation of the colony was now very different from that in which it was two years before. Little was to be apprehended from the quarter of New England, and the inroads of the Iroquois were productive of no very serious consequences, when not sustained by the English. Its present state of comparative prosperity was in a great degree attributable to the activity and firmness of the

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the Governor. The haughty and unbending manner by which he had gained a superiority over the enemy; the efficacious means he had employed to render his allies tractable, and to re-establish the credit of the French, made him to be feared by the one, and respected by the other.

But whilst every degree of justice was allowed to the superiority of his talents, and to the application which he made of them to procure respect for the colony abroad, and its internal security, he was in some instances highly reprehensible. It was lamented by many, that from regard to his officers, whose attachment and esteem he was anxious to conciliate, he had allowed to fall upon the inhabitants the burden and fatigue of war. That he ruined these by unprofitable toil, whilst the soldiers were working the lands, by which means the officers drew considerable profit from the produce: thus it was occasioned, that the colony was not flourishing, and that commerce was in a languishing state. Another complaint still more serious and universal, arose from the countenance he continued to give to the traffic in spirituous liquors, or at least from his toleration on this point, both equally censurable in a General, who alone had the power of putting a stop to the evil whenever he should think fit.

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Advice was received that a body of eight hundred Iroquois were in march to attack the colony. They were separated into two equal divisions; one was to descend by lake Champlain, and the other by the St. Lawrence, with a design to reunite near the rapids of St. Louis, to entrench themselves there, to draw out by a feigned negotiation as many of the inhabitants of this village as they could, and to massacre all that should fall into their hands. But finding on their arrival that a knowledge of their intentions had been gained, and that the village was in a good state of defence, they took their departure without making any serious attempt.

The General soon after detached three hundred Canadians, a hundred regulars, and a great number of allied savages, under the command of M. M. de Mantel, De Courtemanche, and De la Noue, destined for the canton of Agniers, with orders to give no quarter to any person capable of bearing arms, to put all to death without taking one prisoner, and to bring off the women and children to people the Christian villages of their nation.

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But experience ought to have suggested, that a plan such as this was difficult to be executed. The army arrived in the canton of Agnier on the 16th of February, without having been discovered. It appeared that this canton was then

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composed of three fortified villages. La Noue attacked the first, and took it without much resistance; he burnt the pallisades, the cabins, and all the provisions. Mantel and Courtemanche also, without much resistance, got possession of the second, which was about a quarter of a league distant, and as several prisoners were made, Courtemanche had the charge of guarding them. The third village was larger, and required much greater trouble to become masters of it. La Noue and Mantel arrived there on the 18th at night, and found the inhabitants singing the song of war. Therein were forty Agniers, who, ignorant of what had happened in their neighbourhood, were preparing to join a party of fifty Onneyouths, who were to have reinforced a body of two hundred English, with a view to make an irruption into Canada. They were instantly attacked, and although surprised, they defended themselves with much valour: twenty men and some women were killed in the first onset, and two hundred and fifty persons were taken prisoners.

It had been recommended, it has been said, to give quarter to women and children only, but the savages paid no attention to that recommendation. To this mistake they added another, by obliging the French to entrench themselves,

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after two days' march on their return, that they might await the enemy who were pursuing them. The little army, although it had scarcely provisions to enable it to reach Montreal, awaited the enemy for two days: at length they appeared, and entrenched in a situation opposite to the French, who charged them three times with resolution; they defended themselves with vigour, and the entrenchment was not forced until the third attack. Eight Frenchmen and eight savages were killed, and twelve were wounded. The loss of the Onneyouths was not more considerable, and the remainder saved themselves by disappearing. But they soon afterwards rallied, and continued to follow and harass the French for the space of three days. The bad roads and the scarcity of provisions obliging the Frenchmen to disband, a great number of prisoners escaped, and only sixty-four were brought to Montreal.

There were at this time at Michilimakinac great quantities of furs, which the savages would not venture to bring to Montreal without an escort, which the General was not able to afford; it was however of great consequence that these furs should be transported thither, and it was still of greater moment that the Sieur de Louvigny should be informed of intelligence which had been

been received of an intended attack on the colony, and of the manner in which he should act in that alarming conjuncture.

It was proposed to the *Sieur d'Argenteuil*, a reduced lieutenant, to ascend to *Michilimakinac*, and he cheerfully accepted that commission. But it was only by promises of great advantage that eighteen Canadians could be prevailed on to accompany him. *M. de la Valtrie* had orders to escort them with twenty French soldiers, beyond all the dangerous passages. *D'Argenteuil* performed his voyage successfully, but *M. la Valtrie* was attacked near the island of *Montreal*, on his return, by a party of *Iroquois*. He was himself killed, together with three Frenchmen, and an *Iroquois* of the mountain was taken prisoner. The others of his party made their escape.

BOOK VI.

Deputies of the Iroquois arrive at Montreal. — Expedition against Port Nelson fitted out from Quebec. — Conference with the Huron and Iroquois Deputies. — Hostilities of the Iroquois. — Re-establishment of the Port at Cataragouy. — Irruption of the Iroquois. — Deputies of the Hurons sent to solicit a Diminution of the Price of Merchandise. — Answer of the General. — Conduct of a Siou Chief. — Change in the Disposition of the Allies of the Upper Country, effected by the Address of M. de la Motte Cadillac. — Preparations for an Expedition against the Iroquois. — Result of that Expedition. — Death of La Chaudiere Noire, principal Chief of the Iroquois.

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WE have already shewn, in the course of this work, the repeated and insincere attempts made on the part of the Iroquois to negotiate with the French on terms of peace. To these they were driven more by the temporary exigences of their affairs than by a wish to be exempted from the dangers and fatigues of war, which becomes a principal part of their occupation, and seems to be their only incentive to energy and exertion.

When treaties of peace were even concluded, little dependence could be placed on their observance any longer than the first favourable opportunity

opportunity of gaining an advantage should present itself. Thus the French were kept in a state of almost uninterrupted alarm by those fierce, restless, and political barbarians.

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Two Onnontagués having come to Montreal, to inquire of M. de Callieres if the deputies of the five cantons, who, they added, were already on their way, would be well received in soliciting their father Ononthio to grant them peace; the Governor, who was made acquainted with the intentions of the General, answered, that their conditions would be attended to if they presented them. With this answer they retired, and nearly two months elapsed without any thing further having been offered on that subject. M. de Callieres was by no means surprised at their conduct; that nothing, however, might be wanting which depended on him, he thought it necessary to send some parties towards New York, to see if by means of prisoners whom they should take from the Iroquois they could discover the real cause of the mission of their first deputies, and of the retardation of their second.

1694.

On the 23d of March two Agniers came to Montreal to present the excuses of Teganifforens, who ought to have been the chief of the deputation, and they said, that the English were in fault if the cantons had not kept their promise. They were not favourably received, because M.
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de Frontenac had been informed by some savages of Acadia, that they only wanted to gain time in order to put him off his guard ; that they had formed the design of stabbing him and the Chevalier Callieres in a council, where they proposed to meet in great numbers ; of assembling, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, numerous parties ready to fall upon the colony, when struck with astonishment at that deed, and destitute of its chiefs ; and of carrying every where destruction and desolation throughout the settlement.

Some abatement was doubtless to be made with regard to the horror and extent of the project ; but prudence demanded that a strict observation should every where be preserved. In the month of May, Teganissorens arrived at Quebec with eight deputies. It was in the middle of seed-time, and this caused the General to dissemble the little confidence he placed in this deputation. He gave the ambassadors a public audience with great outward shew, and much was said on the one part, and on the other. The good will of Teganissorens appeared not only in the harangue which he delivered in the assembly, but also in private conversations which he had with M. de Frontenac, to whom he presented collars on the part of Garakontié.

The General shewed him much civility, begged him to assure Garakontié of his high consideration

tion and esteem, and joined to these marks of kindness some presents of value for both; but, persuaded that neither the one nor the other would enter into the councils of their countrymen, he only reckoned upon their regard, without flattering himself that their credit with their nation was such, as to influence it to embrace measures of perfect reconciliation. He afterwards prolonged the stay of the deputies, as long as was necessary to afford the inhabitants time to sow their land; and this delay produced another effect, which was not less advantageous to the colony.

M. de Louvigny had reason to apprehend a rupture with the allies in the countries of the north and west, to whom the Iroquois failed not to insinuate that the French wished to come to an accommodation with the cantons, without taking the trouble to include in the negotiation the particular interests of the allies. All that the Iroquois gained by this artful manœuvre, was to engage the principal chiefs of these nations to inquire, themselves, into the validity of this statement. These chiefs set out for Quebec, where they arrived two days after the departure of the Iroquois deputies. M. de Frontenac having learnt from themselves the subject of their voyage, sent an express to Teganissorens to solicit his return to Quebec. He immediately complied,

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saw the chiefs of the allies, who, after they had listened to what he had to say respecting them, comprehended that the Iroquois had only in view to lead them into mistake, to prevent their parties from harassing them, and to embroil them with the French, that they might be able both to purchase and sell to great advantage.

The Governor was not wanting in using his endeavours to extract from this deputation of Teganifforens another advantage, which appeared to him not less essential, although many held a different opinion. This was, the re-establishment of the fort of Catarocony. Teganifforens made the first proposal to that effect, which perhaps the General had himself suggested. He however ardently laid hold of this opening, and did not delay a moment to make preparation for an enterprise which he had long desired. He engaged many persons to labour with diligence in the completion of a large convoy, which was destined to conduct to this post a garrison, ammunition, and every thing requisite for an establishment, which was intended as the bulwark of the colony. He gave the command to the Chevalier de Crisafy; but when this officer was upon the point of embarking, he received an order for disarming the expedition.

The cause of this change proceeded from M. de Serigny, who arrived at Montreal, where the
General

General then was, with a commission from the King to raise considerable detachments for an enterprise against Port Nelson. The court had always much at heart this expedition, and Serigny himself was to command it, with D'Iberville, his brother, as his second. Not a moment could be lost, and it was necessary to assign for this service a great part of the people who were to have accompanied the Chevalier de Crisafy. A hundred and twenty Canadians, and some savages of the Sault de St. Louis, were put under the orders of Serigny, and the remainder were discharged until there should be a further occasion for their services.

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A short time afterwards, two Frenchmen who had escaped from Onnontagué, where they were prisoners, assured M. de Frontenac that he must place no reliance on a prospect of peace with the Iroquois nation : the General believed that their information was not good, and the chiefs of the nations of the west and north having arrived on the end of the month of August, with a great convoy of furs, conducted by M. de Louvigny, he took care that they should not be informed of the intelligence he had received.

At the expiration of fifteen days, Oureouharé, who had accompanied Teganissorens on his return, came back with thirteen French prisoners, whom he had liberated, and among whom were the

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the two Hertels, taken two years before in the defeat of M. de la Gemeraye, and who were supposed to have been dead; he brought no other deputies but those of his canton of Goyogouin, and of that of Tsonnonthouan. The regard which the Count de Frontenac had for their conductor made him give them a favourable reception, and the General wished the chiefs of the allies to be present at the audience which he held.

Oureouharé, who was the speaker, began by presenting a collar, which imported that he had broken the chains of thirteen Frenchmen; he then presented others, to denote that the cantons whose deputies were present, perceiving that the negotiation of Teganifforens was too much prolonged, and knowing that it was impeded by the English, had taken the measure of charging their envoys to solicit their father not to be impatient, to assure him that they would, at whatever price, re-enter into his good opinion, and to conjure him yet to suspend the hatchet for a time.

The General asked them, if they meant not to comprehend all the nations in the treaty which was agitating; and this question threw them into some embarrassment. They consulted among themselves for a short time, and afterwards gave an ambiguous answer. Father Buryas, superior of missions, who was the interpreter, begged them

them to explain themselves more clearly, and on this their confusion seemed to increase. The Count de Frontenac then said, that he accepted the first collar, and that he sent back with pleasure his children, who seemed to feel so much pain : that he knew the good-will of the deputies of the two cantons, and their eagerness to give him protestations of their fidelity ; but that he would not receive the other collars, by which they pretended to stop his arm, and that he must quickly strike a blow, if they hastened not to render him a more precise answer, respecting all that he had declared to Teganissorens.

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He afterwards regaled them in a plentiful and handsome stile, and during the entertainment, assuming those conciliating manners which he had ever at command, he studied to impress the Goyogouins and Tsonnonthouans with the idea that he wished for peace, but more on their account than his own, and as became a father who chastises his children with regret. He re-assembled, after some days, all the savages, and appeared to shew much resentment that Teganissorens had not returned at the time which he had appointed ; and still more that they had consulted with the English, who regarding only their particular interests could not but disconcert the negotiation. He added, that he would not long be the dupe of the irresolution and inconsistency

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stancy of the cantons; that he and his allies would seriously re-commence the war, and that it should be carried on with greater spirit and activity than ever.

The deputies, who little expected this menace, wished to inspire him with a distrust of his allies; but he took up their defence, and protested that he would never separate their interests from his own. He however failed not to listen attentively to some reproaches which the Iroquois and the Hurons mutually exchanged, wishing, no doubt, to try if he could draw some information respecting the conduct of the latter, in whom he never very greatly confided; but after a spirited altercation, from which he could learn nothing that he did not already know, he imposed silence on the two parties. He then said to the Iroquois, that he should not greatly hasten his preparations, that he might give them time to recover a sense of their duty; but if they continued to abuse his patience, he should make them sensible, that in proportion as he was a good father and faithful ally, so should they, on the contrary, experience him to be a formidable enemy. He spoke in a like tone to the other savages, and took leave of them, loaded with presents, and full of respect for his person.

Towards the end of October father Milet arrived at Montreal, after five years of slavery, a considerable

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considerable part of which he had passed in the constant expectation of being subjected to the sufferings destined for prisoners of war, and he gave intelligence to the General, that Taréha was following him with the deputies of the canton of Onneyouth. They disembarked, indeed, in a few days afterwards, and met with an unfavourable reception: it was even doubtful whether they should not be treated as spies. M. de Frontenac relented, however, somewhat from his severity, on the testimony of the missionary, to whom Taréha had effectually rendered good services during his captivity; and although he began to give some credit to what he had been told by the Abinaquis, that all these negotiations tended only to amuse, he reflected that they had not been altogether without their use, by having procured some repose for the inhabitants of the colony. It was besides necessary for him at least to pretend to give them credit, or to march to attack the Iroquois with a force capable of exterminating them; and he must first have been master of one equal to such a service. The English had constructed a fort at Onnontagué, and it was in a condition of defence. The Iroquois could, if necessary, muster three thousand warriors, and the Governor of New York would not suffer them to perish for want of assistance.

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M. de Frontenac could not reckon on more than two thousand at the utmost, including in that number the troops, the militia, and the domiciliated savages; prudence would not suffer him to withdraw his men from the most exposed posts, which were sufficiently numerous. Thus upon due reflection, much had been done in preventing an invasion by considerable parties, who would have ravaged and laid waste the cultivated fields, a misfortune which would have been followed by a general scarcity. The cessation of hostilities was the fruit of the negotiations which had been mentioned, and the small parties which had appeared in the country from time to time, whilst these were going forward, had only served to keep the French upon their guard.

The Iroquois continued to make great promises, without any views of sincerity. It was afterwards understood, that it was not from New York that the greatest obstacles to a perfect reconciliation between the cantons and the French originated; the Dutch, who had a great party in that province, not being averse to the peace; but that it principally depended on New England. From whatever quarter, however, the impediment might be derived, there was no person in Canada who was not convinced of the urgent necessity of executing the menaces which had so often been repeated to these savages.

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The court of France was also of the same opinion. BOOK
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It now became necessary to convince the Iroquois that they should no longer boast of the French being the dupes of their policy; and this was still more apparent, when these barbarians, after several intrigues to detach from the French interest their countrymen of the *Sault de Saint Louis* and of the mountain, who were upon the point of yielding to their persuasions, seeing all their machinations discovered, began to shew themselves in the vicinity of the habitations, and to exercise there their usual cruelties and system of plunder.

The vigilance and activity of the Governor of Montreal defeated, in a great degree, their measures. One of the chiefs of the *Sault de Saint Louis*, who had secretly entered into a negotiation with them, was driven from the village. The Sienr de la Motte Cadillac, who had succeeded M. de Louvigny at Michilimakinac, found means to engage the savages of his district to fall upon the common enemy, who had been at some pains to detach them from the French alliance. But this prevented not the inhabitants from being kept in continual alarm, the Iroquois preparing for them ambuscades in every quarter, and approaching to massacre them in view of, and almost under the cannon of the forts.

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These hostilities had been preceded by insolent proposals on the part of the cantons, who, at the moment they ceased to pretend a wish for peace, had resumed their former airs of haughtiness. They began by requiring that the Governor-General should send, in his turn, deputies to treat at their villages; and for the first preliminary article they exacted, that all hostilities on the part of the French and of their allies should forthwith cease, not only with respect to them, but also to the English.

So haughty a tone from an enemy, whom it was conceived not impracticable to humiliate; the necessity of taking measures for that end, if the French wished not to lose all the credit they had gained in the opinion of their allies, and the mortification of witnessing the extremities and even the centre of the colony become again the theatre of a war, in which every thing was hazarded without the hope of advantage, made those, whom experience of the past had led to entertain disquieting apprehensions of the future, ardently desire that the whole forces of Canada might be assembled, to march against the cantons, and to compel them to repent that they had not profited by the favourable opportunity which was offered them of concluding an advantageous peace. The Count de Frontenac was not of that opinion.

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He was firmly persuaded that the most efficacious remedy against these evils which were feared, was to repair the fort of Catarocony; and resolved to execute this design, of which he had not lost the view for a moment since his return from France, whatever obstacle he might find to surmount in attaining his object.

His resolution was scarcely declared, when M. de Champigny and all the officers of government represented to him in a striking manner the dangerous consequences which might ensue from an enterprise, where he alone discovered advantages which no other person could discern; adding, that the troops and militia which must be kept there, would be much better occupied in repressing the insolence of the Iroquois. It was remarked to him, that the cantons having oftener than once demanded the re-establishment of this post, it would be not only bestowing on them a favour of which they were unworthy, but even in a manner receiving law from them, which they seemed to impose with arms in their hands.

These representations affected not the General. He answered, that although he stood alone in his opinion, he would follow it. He presently departed for Montreal, where he arrived on the 18th of July, escorted by a hundred and ten inhabitants of Quebec and Three Rivers. He raised besides fifty men of the militia of Montreal,

two hundred soldiers, and two hundred savages, with thirty-six officers, all chosen men, who under the command of the Chevalier Crisafy, whom the General entrusted with the execution of the enterprize, might have been sufficient to have brought the Iroquois to reason. The preparations were made with all possible diligence, and the moment the convoy was ready it began to proceed to the place of its destination.

M. de Frontenac very soon after received a letter from M. de Pontehartrain, wherein that minister acquainted him that the King did not approve of the intention of re-establishing the fort of Catarocony. He however took upon him to pay no other attention to this intimation of authority, than by assigning reasons for the conduct which he had held on this occasion: the principal of which was, that the dereliction of this enterprize, of which the chiefs of the Outaouais had been eye-witnesses, would have so sunk the French in their estimation, by the strong impressions which must have been formed of their weakness, or their desire to renew negotiation with the enemy, that this alone might have been sufficient to have alienated them from the French, or to have induced them to entertain thoughts of making peace without their participation, especially after the joy which they had publickly testified, to be able by means of this establish-

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ment to find a secure retreat in all the enterprises which they might form against the Iroquois. The expedition was happily performed at small expence, and in little time. Not a single man was lost; and, although it was originally intended to fortify the branches with stakes only, means were found to repair them in the course of eight days with stone, without incurring any expence to the King.

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The Chevalier de Grifasy shewed in the execution of his orders a conduct which excited the commendations even of those who most disapproved of the enterprize with which he was charged. He ascended the river with great expedition, and speedily repaired the fort. But his zeal and his vigilance ended not there; before his return to Montreal he detached a number of scouts, composed of eighty savages, divided into small bodies, and, it may be said, that the colony owed to this precaution, as much as to the valour of some officers, which shall afterwards be mentioned, the happiness which it enjoyed of reaping the harvest in tranquillity.

Forty of this discovering party having approached towards Onnontagué, some of them who advanced to the river De Chougen witnessed the descent of thirty-three canoes of Iroquois, and they even heard some of these savages saying to each other, that they were about to pay

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to the French, and to their brethren at St. Louis, a visit which would be little expected. The other parties confirmed, that a great number of Iroquois were in the country. They all made sufficient haste to give to the Governor of Montreal leisure to place his posts in a situation to bid defiance to insult, and to M. de Frontenac to form a corps of eight hundred men on the island of Perrot.

The enemy failed not to advance to Montreal, and disembarked on that island, in small platoons, where they massacred some inhabitants. On advice of this being brought to the Governor-General, he thought fit to divide his little army, and to disperse it among the parishes to cover the reapers: this disposition disconcerted all the measures of the Iroquois, a considerable body of whom was defeated behind Boucherville by M. de la Durantaye. There were some surprises made by the barbarians, but without any material injury. Thus finished the campaign in the centre of the colony. It proved still less profitable to the Iroquois in the quarters towards the west.

It has been remarked, that M. la Motte Cadillac had influenced the savages who were in the neighbourhood of his post to make a descent on the common enemy. They were successful, and brought to Michilimakinac a great number of

of prisoners. The Iroquois wished to satisfy their vengeance on the French, and marched in great force to constrain the Miamis to declare themselves against them; resolved, if they refused, to drive them from the river St. Joseph, where there was a populous village of these savages. By good fortune M. de Contemanche was at that place, together with some Canadians, when the Iroquois appeared. He joined the Miamis, and fell so fiercely on the barbarians, who were far from expecting that reception, that after having killed and wounded a great number, he obliged the remainder to fly in great disorder.

This check was sensibly felt by them; but they found an advantage to counterbalance it by the perfidy of a Huron chief, called by the French, the Baron. He was a dangerous character, and the French, whose enemy he naturally was, entertained no distrust or suspicion of his conduct. He had prevented the Hurons of Michilimakinac from going to war like the others, and had been negotiating for some time with the Iroquois. He concealed however his game with an adroitness and secrecy, of which few people but savages, and especially the Hurons, are capable; and whilst he went himself, with the deputies of the allies, to make to the Governor-General protestations of unalterable attachment, he had sent

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sent his son with thirty warriors, who were entirely at his disposal, to the Tsonnonthouans.

They concluded with this canton a treaty, in which they comprehended the Outaouais; and, when the whole of the intrigue came to light, the party was so completely linked together, that it became impossible for the Sieur la Motte Cadillac to break the connection. This commander was however so far successful as to suspend the execution of the treaty, at least on the part of the Outaouais; but the Baron, who had thrown off the mask, no longer preserved any measures, and the French consoled themselves with the reflection, that a declared enemy is much less to be feared than a perfidious ally, particularly of the character already described, whose plans were afterwards neither avowed nor adopted by his village.

Another circumstance disquieted the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, and engaged him to manage with address a deputation which shall presently be mentioned. The savages of his district continually complained of the high price of the French merchandise, which was indeed exorbitant. It is certain that nothing was more disadvantageous for that people in Canada, particularly in critical conjunctures, than the little attention which was paid to the conduct of those engaged in the commerce, which subjected them

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more than once to the hazard of seeing their allies, whose supplies of furs became necessary to the existence of that commerce, forsake their alliance for that of the English.

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The commandant of Michilimakinac, unable of himself to remedy that disorder, of which he was more in a situation than any other person to foresee the destructive consequences, wished to impress with a full conviction of this important truth the Governor-General and the Intendant, that they might pursue such measures as would afford the desired relief. He suggested to the deputies, whom he sent to Montreal under a different pretext, to present a collar to demand a diminution of the price of merchandise, and to insist on this point as so essential, that they were resolved not to depart from it. This they executed, and even went further than the *Sieur de la Motte Cadillac* intended. They appeared before the Count de Frontenac as a people who proposed peace or war; and in presenting their collar they did not dissemble, that, if he granted not their demand, they should take their resolution thereupon.

Such a proposal, delivered with a menacing air, could not be favourably received, and the collar was rejected with disdain. The General made to the deputies the reproaches which their insolence merited; but whilst he touched this spring,

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spring, he knew how to check it opportunely, and mingled with marks of his displeasure such manners and expressions as discovered more of kindness than of anger. He gave hope to the savages that they should receive satisfaction with respect to the terms of the merchandise. But, as in their discourse they delivered themselves in a manner to induce the persuasion that they were not much disposed, independently of this article, to continue in a state of warfare, the General testified great compassion for that blindness, which had deprived them of the view of their real interests. He added, that for his own part he was resolved to make war: that he would have been happy to have witnessed all his children join him, to avenge the blood of a great number of their brethren; but he was not in want of their assistance: that he could not better punish them for their indocility, than in leaving them at liberty to follow their inclinations: that he wished only to impress them with the truth of the advice he had already given, that the Iroquois could never have any other views with respect to them but their destruction, and that experience ought to have made them sensible, that that people fought to detach them from his alliance, only to arrive with greater facility at the execution of their purpose.

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A degree of firmness so seasonable astonished the deputies, and afforded particularly to the Huron chief ample matter for reflection, but did not induce him to break the silence which he had hitherto preserved: he contented himself with saying, that he was not charged with any special message on that head, on the part of his nation: that his orders extended no further than to hear what his father Ononthio would be pleased to say, that he might make a report to his brethren. The General however, who had been instructed with regard to his secret practices, told him that it was in vain to dissemble: that he well knew his intentions, of which he was under no apprehension. The Outaouais and the Nipissings then conjured M. de Frontenac to be well persuaded that they had no share in the intentions of that person, who might merit his displeasure, and added, that they would not return to their country, but were resolved to remain near their father, to be witnesses of the enterprize which he was about to execute.

Some time before M. le Sueur had conducted to Montreal a large convoy from the western extremity of Lake Superior. Whilst M. de Frontenac was giving audience to the savages who had accompanied him, a Siou chief approached him with an air of sadness, supported his hands on his knees, and, with tears in his eyes,

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eyes, conjured him to have compassion on him : that all the other nations possessed a father, and that he alone was like an abandoned child. He then stretched out a robe of beaver, on which having placed twenty-two arrows, he took them up one after the other, named at each a village of his nation, and demanded of the General to be pleased to take them under his protection. The Count de Frontenac gave him a promise to that effect. But no means were afterwards taken to maintain these people in the alliance of the French. Considerable advantages might have been derived from thence, by a traffic for leather and for wool, the vast plains which they inhabit being covered with wild cattle.

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The sentiments of the court with respect to the wars with the Iroquois were now fully explained by M. de Pontchartrain the minister. These continued acts of hostility appeared to proceed from a jealousy which prevailed with regard to a superiority in commerce for furs, with the nations of the upper country, between the inhabitants of Canada and those of New York ; the situation of the Iroquois giving them great advantages in carrying on that traffic. It was believed also, that the alienation of the Outaouais and of the other natives of these distant quarters, was occasioned by the French penetrating into their territories, and usurping the commerce which

which these nations carried on with others more advanced towards the north. That the passion for traversing the woods of Canada, more unrestrained than ever, notwithstanding frequent prohibitions to the contrary, was the source of all the misfortunes of the colony, and had created establishments too remote from each other, which dissipated and weakened the population, and overturned the views which the King entertained of uniting the inhabitants within more circumscribed limits, and of applying their attention to industry and the cultivation of the lands.

It was added, that the King, after having considered the representation of M. M. Frontenac and Champigny relative to the ill-affected disposition of the allies towards the French government, and to the difficulties and immense expence of maintaining a communication with them in time of war, had resolved, from the advice of those who were acquainted with the nature of the country, to abandon Michilimakinac, and the other advanced posts, except Fort Louis of the Illinois, which he was inclined to maintain, on condition that the Sieurs Forêt and de Tonti, on whom he had bestowed this concession, should neither of themselves transport, or cause to be transported, any beaver skins into the colony.

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The commerce of New France was, doubtless, much injured by the Canadians over-running the territories of the savages, and there introducing a spirit of licentiousness, which rendered their country detested by all the people of the continent, and erected an unfurmountable barrier to the progress of religion. But the remedies which the King proposed to apply, were by no means practicable from the circumstances of the colony, since it was certain that the advanced posts would have been no sooner evacuated, than they would have been seized by the English, whom all the savages established in their vicinity would have joined. Thus the English and the Iroquois, strengthened by such an acquisition of force, would in one campaign have driven the French out of Canada.

On the other hand, M. de Frontenac became at length convinced of the indispensable necessity of making an effort to humble the Iroquois. He was also persuaded of it from the dispositions which they evinced in the last audience which he gave to the deputies of that nation; but what most of all determined him to make his appearance in the cantons with all his force, was the advice which he had received from all quarters of the bad effects which the inaction of the French every where produced, notwithstanding the hopes with which their allies had for a long

time been flattered, of a great expedition against the common enemy.

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Having taken this resolution, he made it known to the commandant of Michilimakinac by a Frenchman, who set out with the deputies of the Outaouais on their return to their country. The messenger found the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac in great embarrassment. Ambassadors from the Iroquois had been received by the savages of his post, and had obtained from them all that they wished; an effect of the intrigues of the Baron. They not only had concluded a treaty of peace with the Hurons and the Outaouais, but they had induced them to adopt the determination of uniting themselves to the enemies of the French.

La Motte Cadillac had in vain attempted to gain admission to their conference; but Onaské, chief of the Outaouais Kiskakons, had acquainted him with every thing that passed between them. It only now remained to disconcert their intrigues, which became still more difficult after the return of the deputies who had been at Montreal, and during whose absence the whole had been carried on. These deputies published on their arrival, that all the French were dead: this is an expression in use among the savages to indicate that affairs are in a state of despair. They particularly affirmed, that the French

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dared not to make their appearance at sea, that they possessed neither wine, nor brandy, and that they had suffered the deputies to return in the same shirts which they had brought to Montreal, Ononthio not finding himself in a situation to present them with others. In this unpleasant conjuncture la Motte Cadillac did not give himself up to despondency. The Frenchman who had accompanied the deputies having put into his hands letters from the Governor-General, informing him of several advantages which had been gained by the French over the Iroquois, he made an advantageous use of this intelligence. He then declared, that, notwithstanding the scarcity of merchandise, occasioned by the delay of vessels expected from France, which the contrary winds, and not the fear of the English, had prevented from arriving at the usual time, he would give all the articles that remained in the magazines at the same price at which they had hitherto been sold, and that he would likewise deliver them upon credit. This proposal had a good effect: Onaské and some other emissaries of the commandant, took advantage of it to open the eyes of such as were most prejudiced by the consequences of the negotiations in which they had engaged, and when the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac saw them beginning to waver, he called them together. He told them, that if they would reflect

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reflect on his conduct since he had resided among them, they would be convinced that he had not deceived them, as they supposed, and had been complained of in terms of little respect; but that they had suffered themselves to be seduced by malevolent spirits, whom they ought to have regarded with distrust. As he perceived that these reproaches affected them, he thought it unnecessary to make a longer discourse, and without allowing them time to consult, he proposed to them to detach several parties against the Iroquois, who were then on hunting expeditions with the Hurons, and some Outaouaisians. Such is the unfortunate situation of those whose lot it is to govern barbarians without faith, and destitute of principles of honour, that they can never place reliance on their promises, nor frequently find any other means to avoid becoming the victims of their perfidy, than in the little regard, proceeding from a principle of natural levity, that they pay to their political ties. The Outaouais violated the faith which they had frequently sworn to maintain with the French; new engagements had attached them to the Iroquois, and they suddenly became again their enemies.

Scarcely had la Motte Cadillac ceased from speaking, when Onaské Ouillamek, a chief of Pontouatami, and an Algonquin named Mikinac, having declared themselves chiefs of the enterprise,

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presently assembled a considerable number of warriors. Some Hurons immediately hastened to inform the Iroquois, who took to flight, but the Outaouais made such haste that they overtook them. A combat began with much ferocity on the borders of a river, into which the Iroquois were obliged to throw themselves, and seek for safety by swimming. The victors brought to Michilimakinac thirty scalps, and thirty-two prisoners, with a booty of five hundred beaver skins. Several Hurons were among the number of prisoners, who were delivered up to their nation, which appeared sensible of that mark of respect.

After an event of such consequence, it was not to be apprehended that the Outaouais would soon come to an accommodation with the Iroquois, nor with the English, on whom the loss of the booty fell, because they had advanced their merchandise to the Iroquois for the future produce of their chase.

Some time afterwards M. d'Agenteuil arrived at Michilimakinac, and there published an account of great preparations which M. de Frontenac was making, with a design to attack the Iroquois in their country. M. de la Motte Cadillac invited the savages to join their father; but he made known to them, that he gave this invitation of himself, without having received any

any order on the subject from the General. Onaské then declared, that he would go forth to fight under the banner of Ononthio, and the commandant flattered himself for a time that a body of four hundred warriors would march to strengthen the French army; but various incidents rendered these expectations ineffectual, and it was believed that the Hurons had secretly opposed the measure, in order to avenge themselves of the affront which they had received by the defeat of the Iroquois.

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There were many different opinions respecting the plan to be pursued in order to insure the success of an expedition so desirable, by which it was hoped to put an end to a war which had frequently brought the colony to the verge of ruin, which impeded its progress, and by means of which the English considerably augmented their commerce, and established their power on the continent of North America. The choice of the time for commencing the operations was principally the subject on which they who were to conduct them were not agreed. Many conceived, that the winter was the fittest period to fall upon the canton of Onnontagué with all the forces of the colony, in order to have time to complete in one campaign the destruction of all the other cantons. But the Chevalier de Cal- lieres entertained different sentiments. He told

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the General, that he would not find a sufficient number of persons who could march on snow shoes, carry and drag provisions and ammunition for such a distance, and destroy a village situated in the middle of an enemy's country, where it was easy for the Iroquois to assemble in a short time all their warriors, and to fortify themselves in such manner as to stop for a considerable period the progress of the French army. He added, that although they might force their intrenchments, the enemy could easily prepare ambuscades for troops loaded with baggage, and might harrafs them even to the gates of Montreal; that it was better to await the arrival of summer, and then nothing could impede the march of all the troops, the militia, and domiciliated savages, who would compose a body capable of facing the enemy on every side, and of executing whatever was intended: that it might be nevertheless attended with advantage, that a detachment should in the mean time proceed upon the ice to attack the Agniers, who were the nearest, and who having no expectation of such an enterprise might be easily surpris'd.

The General adopted this advice, because the season was so unfavourable in the month of January, that from Quebec there was no possibility of travelling on the river St. Lawrence, either on
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foot, or in a cariole, or in canoes. He ordered the Governor of Montreal to send five or six hundred men, to be supplied by his government and that of Three Rivers, against the canton of Agnier. This party was soon in readiness, and was on the point of marching, when authentic advice was received that their intention was discovered, and that the Agniers had taken the precaution to procure assistance not only from the other cantons, but likewise from the English of New York.

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M. de Callieres then sent a detachment of three hundred men under the command of M. de Louvigny, to proceed to the grand peninsula formed by Outaouais river and the St. Lawrence, and to fall upon the Iroquois hunters, who usually resorted thither in great numbers at that season of the year. He was stopped not far from Montreal by the quantity of snow, which fell that year in much greater abundance than usual. He afterwards continued his rout, until within five leagues of Cataracony, with incredible fatigue, finding the snow soft, and of the height of six or seven feet. He detached from thence some savages on discovery, who after seven or eight days' march met with ten Iroquois and a woman, of whom they killed three, and took the rest prisoners. They were brought to Montreal, where two were burnt, and the others pardoned,

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because some Frenchmen, who had been slaves in their country, recognised them, and testified, that to them they owed their lives: they were distributed between the villages of Sault Saint Louis, the Mountain, and Lorette.

Some other prisoners who were captured in the spring, reported that the Iroquois kept themselves during the whole winter shut up in their forts, and that they intended soon to come in considerable bands to prevent the French from sowing their corn. Several parties of these barbarians accordingly spread themselves through the settlements, but by the precautions of the Governor of Montreal the labours of husbandry were not interrupted. Some habitations were surprised by the enemy, in consequence of want of attention to the orders which had been given.

In the month of May the Chevalier de Calieres descended to Quebec, to settle with the Count de Frontenac the operations of the campaign, the preparations for which were in a state of forwardness; and when all the necessary arrangements were made, he returned to Montreal to put in execution what had been agreed on. On the 22d of June the Governor-General there joined him, accompanied by M. de Champigny, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, M. de Ramazay, Governor of Three Rivers, the troops and militia

militia of the government of Quebec, and of that of Three Rivers. Those of the government of Montreal were already assembled, and nothing remained to be done but to begin their march. On the 4th of July ten Outaouais arrived at Montreal from the environs of Onnontagué, where they had for a long time rambled, without having been able to make a single prisoner. At length being informed that a considerable party was detached against them, they retired to Catarocony, where the Sieur des Jordis, who there commanded, having acquainted them that the French were upon the point of marching, and that the Count de Frontenac had put himself at their head, they expressed a desire to accompany him. They therefore came to make offer of their services, which were accepted, in the hope that several of their countrymen might thereby be induced to join them. They found the General at La Chine, where the army arrived the same day, and where five hundred savages also assembled, of whom two divisions were formed. M. de Maricourt, a captain, had the command of the first, composed of the Iroquois of Sault Saint Louis, and of the domiciliated Abenakis. The second, in which were the Hurons of Lorette, and the Iroquois of the Mountains, was commanded by M. de Beauvais, a lieutenant. The ten Outaouais, to whom were joined

joined some Algonquins, Sokokis, and Nipissings formed a separate band, with the conduct of which the Baron de Behancourt charged himself.

The troops were divided into four battalions of two hundred men each, under the orders of four experienced captains, M. M. de la Durantaye, De Muys, Du Mesnil, and the Chevalier de Grais. Four battalions of militia were also formed: that of Quebec was commanded by M. de St. Martin, a reduced captain; that of Beau-pré by M. de Grandville, a lieutenant; that of Three Rivers by M. de Grandpré, major of the place; and that of Montreal by M. des Chambauts, attorney-general of that town. M. de Subucase, a captain, acted in the situation of major of brigade general, and each battalion, as well of troops as of militia, had its brigade major.

On the 6th of July the army encamped in the Ile Perrot, and next day departed from thence in the following order. M. de Callieres led the vanguard, composed of the first band of savages, and of two battalions of troops: it was preceded by two large batteaux, in which was the commissary of artillery with two field-pieces, some small mortars, and the ammunition. Some canoes conducted by Canadians, accompanied them with all kinds of provisions. The Count de Frontenac

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nac followed, surrounded by canoes, which carried his tents and his baggage, his servants, and a number of volunteers, having with him M. le Vaffour, engineer in chief. The four battalions of militia, stronger than those of the troops, formed the main body, which M. de Remazay commanded under the General, and the two other battalions of troops, with the second band of savages, formed the rear guard, which was under the orders of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil.

The army set out in this order, which was not interrupted during the march, except that the corps which one day formed the advanced guard, formed on another the rear guard, thus alternately changing their position. On the 19th it arrived at Cataracony, where it remained until the 26th, waiting for four hundred Outaouais, whom M. de la Motte Cadillac had promised to collect, but who did not make their appearance. Some French *Coueurs de Bois* were to have accompanied them, but likewise did not come; they dared not probably hazard the journey, believing the country to be infested by strong parties of the enemy. Twenty-six sick men were left behind at Cataracony, greatest part of whom were wounded in ascending the rapids. On the 28th the army arrived at the mouth of the river Chouguen. As this river is narrow and rapid,

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the General, before entering it, sent fifty scouts by land on each side. The first day they only advanced a league and a half. The next the army was separated into two corps, to make more dispatch, and to occupy both by land and water the two sides of the river. M. de Frontenac took the left with M. de Vaudreuil, four battalions of troops, and one of militia. M. M. de Callieres and Ramazay, with all the remainder, held the right side. On the evening they reunited, after having advanced three leagues, and halted at the bottom of a waterfall, where the river through its whole breadth pours itself over a perpendicular rock of twenty-five feet in height, forming a curtain of resplendent whitenefs.

The greatest part of the army was unluckily drawn into the current when proceeding on the journey, above the fall, and was in danger of being carried down the precipice. The Governor of Montreal immediately made all his men leap into the water, drag the batteaux ashore, carry the cannon by land, and advance the batteaux on rollers, until they arrived to a considerable distance above the fall. This service, which lasted till ten o'clock in the evening, was performed by the light of flambeaux made of bark. The rapid being completely passed, they began to march with more precaution, not only

only because they approached the enemy, but on account of the troops who advanced by land, the roads being very difficult, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil having with his troops marched five leagues along the river, wading up to his knees.

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At length the army entered into the lake De Gannentaha, by a place which is called *the Trench*, and which it would have been difficult to force, if the enemy had taken the precaution to possess themselves of it. They there found two packets of junks suspended to a tree, which, according to the custom of the savages, indicated that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors were waiting to engage the French. The army then traversed the lake in order of battle. M. de Callieres, who commanded on the left, made a feint to descend from that quarter where the enemy was, and at the same time the Chevalier de Vaudreuil made a similar motion on the right with eight hundred men; then turning round the lake, he joined M. de Callieres. All the rest of the army then disembarked.

M. le Vasseur immediately traced a fort, which was completed the following day. They there placed the magazine of provisions, the canoes, and the batteaux, and the guard was committed to the Marquis de Crisafy and to M. des Bergeres, captains, with fifty chosen men. This expedition

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dition not having been concealed under any pretext foreign to its object, the French could not expect to surprise the Iroquois. It is true, the incertitude in which they remained with respect to the particular quarter on which the storm would fall, kept for a long time the cantons in suspense; but unluckily an inhabitant of the village of the mountain, who had been detached with several others to make prisoners, communicated to them the real design of the French. Another piece of advice which this traitor afterwards gave to the canton of Tsonnonthouan, produced an effect contrary to that which he expected: the Chevalier de Callieres, who was well acquainted with the manner of the savages, said, on leaving Cataracony, that the Outaouais would not arrive, because they had been requested to attack the canton of Tsonnonthouan, whilst the army should march to Onnontagué. The deserter failed not to communicate this news to his countrymen, which was the cause that all the warriors remained there for its defence.

The same evening a great light was perceived in the quarter of the principal village of the Onnontagués, and it was supposed, which was afterwards found to be the case, that the savages had set it on fire.

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On the 3d of August the army went to encamp at half a league from the place of debarkation in the vicinity of some salt springs. The following day M. de Subercase ranged it in order of battle in two lines, and formed the necessary detachments for transporting the artillery. M. de Callieres commanded the left wing, and the Chevalier de Vaudreuil that of the right: the General was between the two, carried in an arm chair, surrounded by his household and the volunteers, having the cannon in his front. The road was difficult, and they arrived not at the village before late at night: they found it reduced to ashes, and two Frenchmen, who had long been prisoners there, were recently massacred.

What appeared still more extraordinary was, that the enemy had destroyed their fort, which they might have defended for a considerable time. This fort had been constructed by the English, and was a parallelogram with four bastions, surrounded by a double pallisade, flanked by redoubts, with an outward inclosure of posts upwards of forty feet in height.

On the morning of the 5th, two women and a child of the village of the mountain, who had been for six years captives at Onnontagué, made their escape and came to the camp, who gave information that several days before, all who
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were not in a condition to carry arms had taken refuge at a league from the camp. In the afternoon of the same day a French soldier, who had been made prisoner at the same time with father Milet, arrived from Onneyouth, charged with a collar on the part of the chiefs of this canton to solicit terms of peace. The General sent him back immediately with a proposal to those who deputed him, that he would willingly receive their submission, but upon condition that they would come to establish themselves among the French; that they must not conceive that he would be amused by feigned negotiations, and that he should march with troops to know their final answer.

The Chevalier de Vaudreuil accordingly set out for this canton, at the head of seven hundred men, with orders to cut down the corn, to burn the villages, to receive six chiefs in quality of hostages, and, in case they should make the smallest resistance, to put to the sword all whom he could find. On the 16th a young Frenchman, seven years a prisoner at Onnontagué, made his escape, and discovered the place where great quantities of corn and other stores, which the enemy were unable to carry off, were concealed. They were seized upon, the standing corn cut down, and a scene of devastation carried on for two successive days.

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On the 8th, an Onnontagué, aged near a hundred years, was taken in the woods, being unable to escape with the others, or perhaps not having the inclination to provide for his safety ; for it appeared that he there awaited with intrepidity the approach of death. He was delivered into the hands of the savages, who without regard to his extraordinary age, discharged upon him the resentment which the flight of his countrymen had excited. It was doubtless a singular spectacle to behold more than four hundred men venting their rage against an object worn down by age and decrepitude, from whom by the force of torture they were unable to extract a sigh, and who ceased not while he lived to reproach them with being the slaves of the French, of whom he affected to speak in terms of the greatest contempt. The only complaint that escaped from his lips, was, that when from motives of compassion, or perhaps of rage, one of them stabbed him repeatedly with a knife to put an end to his existence, "Thou oughtst not," said he, "to abridge my life, that thou mightst have time to learn to die like a man. For my own part, I die contented, because I know no meanness with which to reproach myself."

On the 9th M. de Vaudreuil, after having burnt the fort and villages of the canton of Onneyouth, returned to the camp with thirty-

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five men, most of them French prisoners whom he had liberated. He was accompanied by some of the principal chiefs of the canton, who came to place themselves at the mercy of M. de Frontenac. This General gave them a favourable reception, in the hope of drawing over others, but his expectation was vain. There was found among this party a young Agnier, who had come to Onneyouth to see what was passing: he was recognised to have deserted the preceding winter from the village of the mountain, and was burnt. A council of war was assembled to deliberate on what should be done, in order more effectually to terminate the expedition, and it was resolved to treat the canton of Goyogouin in the same manner as they had done those of Onnontagué and Onneyouth, and afterwards to construct forts, to prevent the savages from re-establishing themselves in those quarters. The Chevalier de Callieres made offer to remain in that country during winter, in order to execute the project. But the General afterwards altered his intention, and ordered a disposition to be made for returning to Montreal.

In vain did M. de Callieres represent to him that they ought at least, before leaving the country, to reduce the Goyogouins, the most fierce of all the Iroquois, and the least difficult to overcome. That for this purpose they had only to descend

descend a fine river which conducted to that canton, and that a part of the army only was necessary for this expedition. The General however persisted in his resolution to return, which created much discontent, and they who least concealed their sentiments were the Canadians, and the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis.

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The Count de Frontenac paid no attention to these murmurs of disapprobation. He departed on the 9th, and encamped at two leagues from his fort, which he reached on the following day, and rased it to the foundation. On the 20th he arrived at Montreal, having lost no more than six men in his expedition, some of whom were drowned in the rapids. He believed he had effected much in humiliating the Iroquois; but as he was informed that the scarcity of provisions was not less great in the cantons where he had not penetrated, than in those he had ravaged, and that New York was by no means in a state to assist them; he hoped that this nation, in order to avoid its total ruin, would accept such conditions of peace as he would be pleased to bestow. That he might more fully constrain them to this necessity, he resolved to prosecute the war, and having allowed his army time to repose after its fatigues, he formed several detachments, who harassed the enemy until the end of autumn.

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M. de Frontenac justly conceived that the Iroquois, whom he had more stunned than subdued, would not fail to resume their ferocity, and to shew themselves on the frontiers of the colony. But no project which he had formed to complete their humiliation succeeded, and the affairs of the province, on account of that war, were soon found to be in the same situation in which they were before he made his last campaign with a force more than sufficient effectually to ruin the cantons.

The Chevalier de Callieres had received orders, towards the end of autumn, to raise in his government a considerable body of men, and to send them over the ice to act against the Agniers; but the want of provisions rendered this scheme impracticable, the crop having been very unproductive.

Some parties however went out to harass the enemy, and took the rout to New York. One named Dubos, who conducted one of these bodies, after having fought for some time, with much valour, against the Mahingans and Agniers with success, fell into an ambuscade near to Orange. Out of sixteen, the number of which it consisted, ten were killed on the spot, Dubos and three others were wounded, taken, and brought to Orange; two more of the party never afterwards were heard of.

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A second band of seven or eight Frenchmen were not more happy. It was met by savages of the mountain, who took them for English, and charged them. Two were killed before the error was discovered, and the great chief of the mountain, named Totathiron, perished, which was a great loss to the colony.

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Thirty-three Onneyouths arrived at Montreal on the 5th of February, who said that they had come to acquit themselves of the promise which they had made to their father, to rank themselves with the number of his children; that all the other inhabitants of the canton had charged them to assure him, that the rest of their nation would have followed them, if the Agnier and Onnontagué had not dissuaded them; that they had not however changed their mind, and if Ononthio would be pleased to send to them, they would not fail to come; that they were resolved to settle in whatever place he should assign them, wishing only to preserve the distinctive name of their nation. They requested they might be allowed Father Milet as their missionary.

M. de Callieres received them favourably, and wrote to the Count de Frontenac to know his intention on the subject. He received thereupon an order to send back their chief to Onneyouth, that he might inform his countrymen of

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the good reception with which he had met, and to engage the whole to follow his example.

This negotiation, and the conduct of the Onne-youths who had gone to Montreal, had occasioned great umbrage to the other cantons, and the Onnontagués put themselves in motion to oppose their resolution. The Agniers, more impatient than the others to know in what situation matters were with respect to the Onne-youths, sent two of their people to Quebec, on pretext of conducting thither two young ladies who had been captured the preceding year at Sorel. They gave intelligence that the Iroquois were beginning to recover from their terror; that the English had made presents to the Onnontagués to indemnify them for their losses, and to engage them to re-build their village; and that they expected to be able to sow in the ensuing spring the same fields which the French had ravaged.

The two Agniers on their part demanded, in a haughty tone, of the Count de Frontenac, if the road from their canton to Quebec should be open. The General answered, that the first Iroquois who should have the insolence to speak to him in that manner should be instantly punished: that he nevertheless pardoned them, in consideration of the two captives which they had restored him, but that they must accustom themselves

selves to speak in a more mild and humble tone before him: that he would no further listen to them until they were perfectly submissive to his pleasure, and until they should have restored all the Frenchmen who were prisoners among them.

They were detained during the remainder of the winter lest they should inform their countrymen of the places where the allies had gone to the chase, and in the mean time small parties were ordered out from Montreal to harass the enemy, and to endeavour to learn what was passing in the cantons, and at New York.

The Iroquois soon perceived that it was not intended to make any further serious attempt to trouble them, and spread themselves every where over the country. This circumstance obliged the Governor of Montreal to increase his parties which he sent against them, and he thus succeeded in breaking all their measures.

A considerable number of the Miamis, inhabiting the banks of the river Maramek, one of those which discharges itself into the eastern part of Lake Michigan, had left that part of the country in the month of August of the preceding year, to unite themselves with their countrymen established on the river St. Joseph, and had been attacked on the way by some Sioux, who had killed several of their number. The Miamis of

St. Joseph, informed of this act of hostility, went into the country of the Sioux, and attacked a situation where a number of that people were entrenched with some Frenchmen, who belonged to that class called *Coueurs de Bois*.

They made several assaults with great resolution, but they were always driven back, and obliged at length to retreat, after having lost some of the bravest of their warriors. In returning home they met with other Frenchmen, who were carrying arms and ammunition to the Sioux; they took from them every thing they had, without doing them further mischief. They afterwards made known to the Outaouais what had happened, who sent a deputation to the Count de Frontenac, to represent to him that it was absolutely necessary to appease the Miamis, whose discontent was so strong that it might induce them to join with the Iroquois. The General made such an answer to the deputies as was proper in a conjuncture so delicate, and took such measures as he conceived would prevent any ill consequences from that unfortunate affair. They restrained not however the Miamis from continuing to use reprisals, when occasion presented itself. The former complaints against running throughout the woods, and the last representations of all those inhabitants who were zealous of preserving good order in the colony, had

had the desired effect. So late as the foregoing year, the King had expressly forbid the Governor-General to permit any Frenchman to ascend into the countries of the savages, with a view of trading there. Some of the council of Canada were of opinion, that the King should be supplicated to limit this restraint. It was suggested that a middle line might be adopted, which was not to maintain among the distant savage nations more than two posts, Michilimakinac and the river St. Joseph; to limit the number of Frenchmen who should be permitted to go thither, and to take various other precautions, which should afterwards be pointed out, to stop the abuse, of which it was with reason complained.

M. de Frontenac was far from approving of these temperate measures, which diminished his authority, and as he conceived that, in literally obeying the order which has been mentioned, inconveniences would happen, which would oblige the council of the King to bring back matters to their former footing, he acquainted the minister, that in order to conform to the intentions of his majesty, he would recal all Frenchmen from the distant posts; but the unhappy affair of the Miamis, caused by the *Coueurs de Bois*, made him fear that even the proposal of retaining only two forts would not be accepted, and that they who had awakened the zeal of the Prince,

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Prince, would take advantage of this new incident to solicit the entire execution of the last orders of the court.

The General therefore began to think the modifications which had been proposed more reasonable, because they at least preserved to him a part of the whole, which he was upon the point of losing, and he joined those who had given these proposals in representing to the ministry, that there existed an indispensable necessity for not touching the posts of Michilimakinac and of the river St. Joseph, and that an officer and twelve men ought to be maintained in each.

That it was not practicable to support those posts, if at least twenty-five canoes, laden with merchandise, were not sent thither every year. That for the safety of the missionaries, it was necessary to detach troops from time to time among the savages. That the licences for vending merchandise to Upper Canada were a resource for relieving the indigence of many respectable families to whom they were given, and who sold them to the merchants and *voyageurs*; and that if this dependence was cut off, another mode of provision for their sustenance must be devised. In fine, that these voyages served to retain in the country a number of young men, who were of no other employment, and who, if they could not prosecute this, would go in search of subsistence in

in the English colonies, which would add strength to those, and proportionably enfeeble the French.

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Some of this reasoning was not altogether sound, and part of it proved that there existed evils, to which it was dangerous to apply too sudden a remedy. After having weighed the whole, the council concluded, that to abandon the posts, after having established and supported them with great expence, and after giving reason for the allied savages to look upon them as a great advantage to their respective nations, would expose these people to the temptation of giving themselves wholly to the English.

Several merchants had, a considerable time before this period, associated themselves for the purpose of carrying into effect the establishment of a fishery in Canada, but had not been able to ascertain the place which should seem best adapted, and the safest for an enterprise of this nature. The person who first suggested the plan was the *Sieur Reverin*, a man of an enlightened, active, and enterprising mind, whom obstacles could not easily discourage or depress. The harbour of *Mont Louis*, situated on the southern coast of the river *St. Lawrence*, amongst the mountains of *Notre Dame*, and nearly half way between *Quebec* and the extremity of the gulph, was chosen as the most convenient place for this purpose.

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purpose. In this harbour, which is at the mouth of a river, the anchoring ground is good, and the vessels which may lie in the road are exposed to no wind except from the north, which seldom blows during summer. The river is capable of receiving vessels of one hundred tons burden. They are there sheltered in every quarter, from stormy weather and from an enemy, because it can only be entered at high water; and when the tide is low, there only remain in the entrance two feet of water, although in the river itself vessels may be a-float. It has also the advantage of being easily defended, having on one side inaccessible mountains, and on the other a point of land about three or four hundred yards in length, forming a peninsula, upon which a fort might be constructed. This is a situation well calculated for drying the fish, which are in sufficient plenty on this side the river, throughout an extent of many leagues, from Cape Rosiers at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, as far as the river Matane. Whales may likewise be caught fifteen leagues higher up. The soil near Mont Louis is capable of producing corn, and the pasturage is sufficiently good.

All the vessels which ascend to Quebec pass in view of Mont Louis, and considerable advantages might be derived from settling this post, where vessels in want of water and provisions,
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in so long a navigation as that of the St. Lawrence, might procure those necessary articles. A slate quarry was also discovered there, which might have been worked with success, had that species of covering been in use for the towns in Canada, whereby conflagrations would have been rendered less frequent and dreadful than they have always been, from such quantities of wood being employed in the construction of the buildings.

Some of the inhabitants being advised to fish in the harbour of Mont Louis, caught a great abundance of cod, although in want of many things necessary for such an undertaking, and it was from the favourable report made by them that the company of the Sieurs Reverin agreed to form a settlement in that situation.

Every thing being prepared for entering upon this project, many inhabitants set out in boats for Mont Louis, and a vessel loaded with salt and all kinds of provisions was at anchor in the road of Quebec, waiting for a fair wind, when, towards the end of May, the Count de Frontenac received an order to be upon his guard against the English, and not to suffer any vessel to descend the river. This situation of affairs, inauspicious to the enterprise of M. de Reverin, discouraged his associates. Continuing however resolute for its execution, he gave every encouragement

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agement in his power to those who had already gone thither, and in the following year the fishery and the harvest were so plentiful, as fully to answer every expectation which had been formed.

By the last vessels which arrived this year from France, the Governor received a new order from the King, which occasioned him considerable disquiet; it contained an absolute prohibition against any officer or soldier who should be detached to the distant posts, carrying on any commerce, on pain, for the officers, of being cashiered; and for the soldiers, of being sent to the galleys. The same penalty was extended to the *voyageurs*, none of whom the King would suffer to go into those parts, enjoining the commandants of forts to arrest all whom they should find, and to send them to Quebec for trial.

M. de Frontenac was unwilling to act to the extent of this order, persuaded of the evil consequences that would attend its execution. And as the first publication of it had excited murmurs and movements of discontent, he conceived himself justifiable in making remonstrances therefrom to the council. They produced however no effect, and M. Ponchartrain answered him to the following purpose:

That he had placed too great a reliance on the representations of persons, who, from a principle

principle of avidity were interested in supporting the traffic in the woods, and that if he had attentively reflected on the inconveniences which it was the means of introducing, he would have been more inclined to condemn a practice whose tendency was so pernicious. That by relinquishing this mode of carrying on commerce, the savage allies would not, as had been asserted, join themselves to the Iroquois, and make war upon the French: that, on the contrary, such a measure would produce a very different effect, provided pains were taken to explain to the savages, that his majesty, in issuing this prohibition, intended they should receive the merchandise of the French at the first hand, be permitted to sell their furs with entire liberty, and procure to themselves the profits of commerce with the savage nations who were more remote. That his recollection of the events which had taken place in Canada, might perhaps serve to convince him that the war which had been so long sustained against the Iroquois with so much trouble and expence, arose principally from the plans which M. de la Barre had adopted of establishing a commerce with the remote nations. That these savages who had long been in alliance with the English, would not fail soon to declare against them, if the latter passed through their territory

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territory to traffic directly with the distant savage nations.

The preservation of the advanced posts, to which the King had consented, on the representations of the Intendant and of the Governor of Montreal, soon however procured the re-establishment of the licences, and of the commerce which it was the intention of ministers to abolish.

The Governor-General began now to entertain the hope of an approaching and durable peace with the Iroquois, because both they and the English had experienced great disadvantages during the last campaign, which the Abinaquis had terminated by a vigorous enterprise, having made themselves masters, with the hatchet in their hand, of a fort which was only six leagues from the capital of New England, and the garrison of which had all been killed or captured. About the same time a party of Iroquois having gone with a view to surprise the Outaouais, were discovered, and entirely defeated by the Hurons.

But what tended to complete the consternation of these ferocious enemies, was a check which they received in the vicinity of Cataraugus. The *Chaudiere Noire*, an Onnontagué captain, and first chief of all the Iroquois nations,

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tions, who possessed the highest credit of his countrymen, approached the fort with about forty warriors, under pretence of hunting; and the better to conceal his intentions, he sent to acquaint M. de la Gayeray who commanded there, that the ancients of the four upper cantons were upon the point of departing for Quebec to conclude a peace. This indeed was true, as these were the deputies of whom mention has already been made. But as he was known for a personal enemy of the French, and as his envoys had the imprudence to add, that the Iroquois youth were gone to attack the Outaouais, to avenge themselves for the great losses which these savages for upwards of a year had occasioned them, it was not doubted that he had some hostile design. M. de la Gayeray would not, however, attack him at a period when he knew the General was actually negotiating with the cantons. He was contented with keeping a strict observation on the conduct of the Iroquois chief, and by acquainting the General of what was going forward.

He received for answer, that he was not to act hostilely against the Iroquois, but to endeavour to get possession in a tranquil manner of some of the chiefs belonging to the party of the Chaudiere Noire, and to send them to Quebec,

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Whilst the Iroquois, with full confidence of their security, were employed in the chase, near Catarocony, thirty-four Algonquins surprised them at the Bay of Quinté, killed one half their number, among whom was the chief himself, and captured his wife with some other prisoners.

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Death of Oureoharé at Quebec.—Message of the Governor of New York.—Answer.—Proposal for the Re-establishment of Peace with the Cantons.—Death of Louis de Bouade, Count de Frontenac.—Continuation of his Character.—The Chevalier de Callieres, Governor-General.—Deputies of the Iroquois and of the Allies attend a Conference at Montreal.—Treaty of Peace entered into between the Governor-General and the Savages.—Death of M. de Callieres.—His Character.—Succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.—Conference of the Outaouais and Iroquois at Montreal.—Tumult at Detroit.—A Party of the French and Savages attack and burn a Fort of the English.—Expeditions of the English, and of the French.

OUREOHARE, who arrived at Quebec, assured the General that his canton of Goyogouin was sincerely disposed for peace. A few days afterwards he fell sick of a pleurisy, which quickly carried him off. He died a Christian, and was buried with the same honours as are usually paid to captains of companies. This savage was of an amiable disposition, and received, whenever he came to Quebec or Montreal, many testimonies of kindness. The General much regretted his death, as he had always

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reckoned upon his credit for the conclusion of an accommodation with the Iroquois, an event which he had much at heart, and which he always entertained the hope of being able to effect.

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In the month of February four Englishmen arrived at Montreal, from Orange, in order to treat for the exchange of prisoners, and it was from them that the first intelligence was received of peace being concluded between the powers of Europe. This was afterwards confirmed in the month of May by Colonel Schuyler, major of Orange, and M. Delius, a clergyman, who brought with them nineteen French prisoners. They presented also to M. de Frontenac a letter from the Governor of New England to the following purport :

That he begged leave to acquaint him of peace having been concluded between the allied powers and his Most Christian Majesty, the articles of which he inclosed. That he had sent the two gentlemen who would deliver his letter, to testify the marks of his esteem, and to conduct to Quebec all the French prisoners whom he could find in New England. That he would send an order to the Indians to liberate as soon as possible all the subjects of France, prisoners in their country, and if it should be found necessary, he would cause them to be escorted in safety to Montreal,

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not doubting that the Count de Frontenac would, on his part, release all the subjects of England, as well Christians as Indians, that a good correspondence and a free communication, which are the usual fruits of peace, might be renewed on both sides, conformably to the union which it had caused between the kings of England and France.

The French General said in reply, that although he had not received on the part of the King his master a confirmation of peace, he would make no difficulty to restore to M. Schuyler and Delius such of the English and Dutch as were prisoners in his government, and who were inclined to return to their country. That he could not deliver up the Iroquois prisoners upon a promise of the French, who were among that people, being restored. That since last autumn he had been negotiating with them, and hostages being left in token of fulfilment of their promise, it was with them alone he could settle that business. That his orders with regard to this point were so precise, that he could not depart from that principle, or pretend to set it aside. That any difficulty which might arise from this article would not, he hoped, alter the good understanding which he wished should be maintained between the two colonies.

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About two months afterwards some of the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis came to communicate to the General intelligence respecting the Agniers, which afforded much satisfaction. They had newly arrived from this canton, where they had been to visit their relations, a duty which these savages, even in times of the most active hostility, could not refrain from performing.

They reported, that during their stay in that canton the Governor-General of New England there held a great council, at which the ancients of the five cantons assisted : that the Agniers had set out with declaring that they were the sole masters of their territories, where they had been established long before the appearance of the English in America : that to shew him that all the places occupied by the nation belonged to it alone, they consigned to the flames all the papers which had been given them, or which they had signed on different occasions.

They at the same time made a proposal which tended to soften this mortification, and induced him to dissemble his resentment : this was, to detain the savages of the Sault Saint Louis who were amongst them until the Count de Frontenac should restore all the Iroquois prisoners. He would not however consent to this breach of faith,

faith, lest the odium should be attached to himself. He even added, that the cantons ought not to be surprised if their affairs were in so bad a state; and, to procure peace with the French, they ought to demand it by a general deputation from the five cantons: that he wished to procure them peace, which had now become necessary for their own preservation; but that to place him in a situation to terminate this important object with advantage, it was necessary they should deliver into his care all their prisoners, whom he would engage to conduct in safety to Montreal. He then told them, that he knew they were always at war with nations who stiled themselves the allies of the French: that he would leave them at liberty to prosecute it, or to make peace; but that he prohibited them from engaging in any acts of hostility against the French, and against their domiciliated savages. Addressing himself afterwards to the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, he said, that he was happy to see them in his territory, that they should always be welcome there, and that they must bury in oblivion all former enmity. He accompanied these marks of kindness by presents, which were accepted; but they told him that they could give him no satisfactory answer, nor enter into any arrangement with him, because they had to this

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effect no commission from their ancients, nor from their father Ononchio.

The ancients agreed to the proposal, but without specifying the particular period at which its operation should begin. The General comprehended that the English Governor and the Iroquois mutually preserved a desire of tranquillity, whilst at the same time they entertained for each other sentiments of distrust. That the latter were satisfied with the support of the former, only to be able to procure better terms, and that the English Governor was inclined to take advantage of the conjuncture of affairs, to establish over the cantons the right of sovereignty of the crown of England. It would not, he conceived, be impracticable to make an advantageous use of these dispositions on either side, and for this end the most certain means would be to gain over the Iroquois, by pointing out to them that the English aimed at exercising an authority over their country and their persons.

With this view, having learnt that several of the Agniers had come to the Sault Saint Louis to visit their friends, he not only recommended that they should be kindly received, but he invited them to Montreal, where nothing was omitted to regale them, and to testify the satisfaction which their presence excited. They were sensible

fible of the attention, and remained in that city a considerable time with a confidence, from which the inhabitants were inclined to augur happy consequences. It was for these savages a flattering circumstance, to see themselves courted by two powers, either of which was able to destroy them in one campaign, and whose mutual jealousy they well knew how to manage, in order to make themselves of consequence, and in some degree respected by both.

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Louis de Bouade Count de Frontenac died about this period, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He had possessed a constitution as robust and strong as could possibly be enjoyed at so advanced a season of human life, preserving all the energy and vivacity of spirit with which, in his youth, he was endowed. He died as he had lived, beloved by many, respected by all, and with the credit of having, almost without the aid of supplies from France, supported, and even increased the strength of a colony, exposed and attacked on every side, and which he found, when he last was appointed to its government, on the precipice of ruin and decline. He at all times displayed a great attachment to religion, of which, even to the day of his death, he gave public proofs. He was never accused of being interested, but was passionately fond of patronage and power. In his last expedition against the Iroquois, he suddenly

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suddenly withdrew from a resolution, which with the advice of his principal officers he had taken, to exterminate the whole of that savage nation, a measure which he then might, with little difficulty, have effected. No other reason can be assigned for his conduct on that occasion, but a conviction that when his foes became less formidable, a reduction of the troops under his command would consequently take place, and his influence and authority would thereby be diminished.

A jealousy and fullness of temper, of which he was never wholly divested, obscured, in a great degree, the lustre of his successes, and belied the dignity of his general character, which displayed firmness and resolution, combined with a noble elevation of spirit.

1699.

The arrival of the first ships from France announced to the Chevalier de Callieres, Governor of Montreal, that the King had appointed him successor to M. de Frontenac; and the satisfaction which seemed to pervade every class of people in the colony, on the occasion, was not less flattering to him than the choice of his sovereign.

The government of Montreal, which was vacated by the promotion of M. de Callieres, was given to the Chevalier de Vaudreuil.

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The Governor-General of New England having received instructions from his sovereign to oblige the Iroquois to disarm, resumed the design of rendering himself sole arbiter of the treaty with the Governor-General of New France. Acquainted with the engagements into which the cantons had entered with the late Count de Frontenac, he required of them to send deputies to Orange. To this they strongly objected, and, surprised at the refusal, he sent to them confidential persons, who prevailed on them to protract the negotiation. They therefore did not appear at Montreal, although they had recently promised to the Chevalier de Callieres to repair to that place, and had even specified the time on which they should arrive. The General therefore, to guard against a surprise from these barbarians, made active preparations for war, should they be inclined to renew their hostilities. He dispatched messengers to Onnontagué, to inform the cantons, that they were considered by the English as subjects of their King, and that they had nothing to expect from New York, because the Governor-General of New England had orders not to afford them any assistance either directly or otherwise, and gave them to understand that it would be no difficult matter for him to reduce them by force, should they refuse to make peace

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peace on the conditions which his predecessor had proposed to them.

This measure produced the desired effect: the cantons did not, indeed, think fit to embroil themselves with the English, of whose aid they might afterwards be in want; they judged it more prudent to dissemble the resentment which they felt at the pretensions of that nation, and contented themselves with declaring that they would continue to be the brothers, but would not become the subjects of the English. The latter, on their part, thought it necessary to remain on good terms with them. At length the cantons, after having hesitated for some time, and endeavoured to avenge their losses on some of the French allies, by whom they conceived they had been occasioned, when they found that this plan did not succeed, seriously thought of coming to an accommodation, whilst it was practicable without discredit, and with some advantage.

1700. In consequence of this resolution, on the 21st of March two Iroquois were sent to the French General. They were not invested with any powers, but were charged with announcing a general deputation of the cantons in the month of July, and made, for this delay, some frivolous excuses, with which M. de Callieres was by no means

means satisfied. Three months afterwards, a considerable number of Outaouais disembarked at Montreal, where the General then was, and informed him that the Iroquois having come to hunt on their lands, they had attacked them, and killed twenty-eight persons, both men and women: that the remainder of the party having represented to them, that they had conceived they were at liberty to hunt every where, since all hostilities had been suspended on the part of the French and their allies, they had given their promise not to decide the fate of the prisoners, until they had become acquainted with the pleasure of their father Ononthio.

M. de Callieres, after having patiently heard them, said, that they had not informed him of the whole: that notwithstanding his injunctions to the contrary, they had been to attack the Sioux, and that after the blow which they had given to the Iroquois, they had sent some of their prisoners to the cantons, to negotiate with them, without his participation: that such conduct was not justifiable, as they acted with independence in an affair of importance, even after the assurances he had given them that he would conclude no terms with the Iroquois but in concert with them: that they must have forgot the treatment they had often received from that people, by so easily placing confidence in them: that

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that he hoped they would for the future be more considerate and circumspect: that he daily expected the deputies of the cantons, and if on their arrival the chiefs of the allied nations should not be at Montreal, he would acquaint them by an express of his intentions: that in the mean while he hoped they would remain tranquil, and treat their prisoners with kindness.

On the 18th of July two deputies of the canton of Onnontagué, and four of that of Tsonnonthouan, arrived at Montreal, where they had a public audience from the General. They were conducted with ceremony to the General's quarters, and in proceeding through the streets they deplored the death of the French who had fallen during the war, and called on their departed shades to witness the sincerity of their proceedings.

As soon as they were introduced into the council chamber, where the Governor was with all his attendants, they declared that they were come on the part of the four upper cantons, by whom they were invested with powers: that for some time they had entertained a design of treating without the participation of the Agniers, and that if there did not appear amongst them any person of the cantons of Goyogouin and Onneyouth, it was, because the Governor of New England having sent Colonel Schuyler to dissuade them

them from coming to Montreal, the deputies of these cantons were sent to inquire of him his reasons for opposing their journey thither.

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They then complained, that having gone on parties to the chace, without any apprehension of danger, and on their being assured that the war between France and England was concluded by a treaty in which the allies of the two nations were comprehended, the Outaouais and the Miamis had attacked them, and killed a hundred and fifty of their people. They requested that Father Bruyers, and M. M. de Maricourt and Joncaire, might accompany them in their return home, as nothing would more fully convince the cantons that their father sincerely wished for peace, than his condescending to grant that solicitation. They added, that these three ambassadors should not depart from their country until they conducted with them all the French prisoners who were there detained.

The Chevalier de Callieres said, that he was surpris'd that the deputies of Onneyouth and Goyogouin had been sent to the Governor of New England, instead of coming with them to fulfil the engagements which they had entered into with him, and with the late M. de Frontenac.

That he had endeavoured to dissuade his allies from the commission of any act of hostility during the negotiation for peace; but, that affected delays

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delays on the part of the cantons, and the irruption of some Iroquois on the Miamis, had drawn upon themselves the misfortunes which they lamented: that he however regreted them, and that to prevent similar accidents he had required deputies from all the nations: that if the Iroquois sincerely wished for peace, they would not fail to send, in thirty days, ambassadors from all the cantons: that then all the *cauldrons of war* would be overfet, the great tree of peace established, the rivers freed from all embarrasments, the ways laid open; and that then, people of every country might travel in security.

He consented that the missionary and the two officers whom they demanded should accompany them in quest of the prisoners, but upon condition that they should also bring with them ambassadors invested with ample powers to establish a durable peace: that on their arrival at Montreal, he would restore liberty to all the Iroquois prisoners, but he required that an equal number with the persons whom he intrusted to them should remain as hostages until their safe return. Four of the deputies made an offer to remain, and were accepted: the audience passed in sufficient tranquillity, except that some Iroquois Christians and Abinaquis, who were invited there, spoke with much haughtiness, and loaded with reproaches the deputies of the two cantons.

M. de

M. de Callieres, in taking leave of them, declared that he would wait for the ambassadors until the month of September.

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The welcome manner in which they were received at Onnontagué surpassed their expectations. From the Lake Gannentaha, where they had come to meet them, they were led in triumph to the great village of the canton. Teganissorens, in quality of orator, advanced to compliment them with expressions of kindness and gratulation; and as this savage had always maintained an invariable consistency of conduct with respect to the French, and took no part, either in the violations of promise, or in the violent resolutions of his nation, the three envoys entertained no doubt of his sincerity. On their entering the village, platoons of musquetry were fired; they were afterwards profusely regaled, and on the 10th of August were introduced into the cabin of council, where they found the deputies of all the upper cantons. When every person was seated in his place, Father Bruyas, who was commissioned as speaker, began by exhorting the cantons to remember that Ononthio was their father, and that their duty and interest equally bound them to remain in obedience and submission, as became children, whether they might be upon good or upon bad terms with the Governor of New York, who was only their brother.

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He testified his regret for the loss the Iroquois nation had sustained by the death of several of their chiefs, and he assured them that the missionaries had not altered the favourable opinion and regard which they entertained for the cantons, notwithstanding the evils which several of that order had experienced among them : their sufferings they much less lamented than the blindness of their persecutors, and the invincible obstinacy of the nation in rejecting the light of the Gospel. He declared that the new Ononthio was sincerely disposed for peace, and that he would grant them that desirable enjoyment, provided they would on their part act towards him with mutual ingenuousness.

He explained the conditions on which he would treat with them. They were listened to with great attention, and with apparent satisfaction. When Father Bruyas had concluded, M. de Maricourt arose, and after expressing himself with much respect towards the Iroquois, he omitted nothing to convince them that they would have much to apprehend from the formidable resentment of their father, if they accepted not of the peace which he offered them, upon conditions so very favourable as these which had been recently explained to them ; and on the contrary, how much they might expect from him and from all the French, if they would embrace

brace with unrelenting sincerity their genuine
interests.

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As they were next day deliberating on the answer which they should make to the ambassadors, a young Englishman and an Onnontagué arrived from Orange, and said on the part of the Governor of New England, that they ought with caution to listen to the French, and that he expected them in ten or twelve days at Orange, where he would make known to them his pleasure. This imperious message gave offence to the council, and nothing perhaps could more contribute to increase their approach to a reconciliation with the French than so ill-timed a measure. "I do not comprehend," immediately replied Teganissorens, "what can be the intention of my brother, by endeavouring to dissuade us from listening to the admonition of our father, and to encourage us to attune our voices to the harsh notes of war, when every thing around us breathes the milder accents of peace."

Father Bruyas took advantage of the occasion to point out to the assembly, that the English General treated the cantons like subjects, and that if once they submitted to his claims, they would soon experience the haughtiness of his domination; an event which would, of necessity, take place, if they allowed to escape the opportunity

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tunity which was now presented them of a complete reconciliation with their father. If such unhappily should be their choice, they could have no other prospect but that of being gradually consumed and enfeebled by war, until their condition became so reduced that they could no longer refuse to submit to a yoke, of the pressure of whose weight they would perhaps too late be sensible.

M. Joncaire went the same day to the canton of Tsonnonthouan, where he had been adopted, as M. de Maricourt and all his family had been at Onnontagué. He was received with distinction as ambassador, and with friendship as a child of the nation: they granted at his request liberty to all the French prisoners who were in the canton; but the greater part, accustomed to a savage life, had not the resolution to renounce it. Many concealed themselves, others openly refused to follow the *Sieur de Joncaire*. The attractions of a liberty exempted from every species of law, with the introduction of a certain degree of licentiousness, effaced from the minds of these people the hardships incident to their present mode of life, and all the pleasures and gratifications which they might have regained in their country.

Whilst *Joncaire* was negotiating with the Tsonnonthouans, a general council of the whole Iroquois

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Iroquois nation was assembled at Onnontagué: the young Englishman, deputy of the Governor of New England, was there admitted, and Teganifforens spoke for the whole of the cantons. He first addressed himself to the French envoys, and began by assuring them that the whole nation was disposed to listen to the voice of their father. He added, that each canton would send him deputies to receive his orders, and that they would immediately depart. Then turning to the Englishman he said, that nothing was done in secret, and that he was happy an opportunity was afforded of knowing the present disposition of his nation. He desired to inform his brother Corleu, that he was going to Montreal to submit to the orders of his father Ononthio, who had there planted the tree of peace: that he would afterwards go to Orange, to learn the pleasure of his brother. In concluding these words he placed five belts at the feet of the ambassadors.

Father Bruyas accepted them, saying, that he doubted not the uprightness of the orator's intentions, whom he had a long time known: that if they who were to repair to Montreal would wish not to cause the deputies of the distant nations to wait for them, there was no time to be lost.

They therefore set out on their return, accompanied by the deputies of this canton, and of



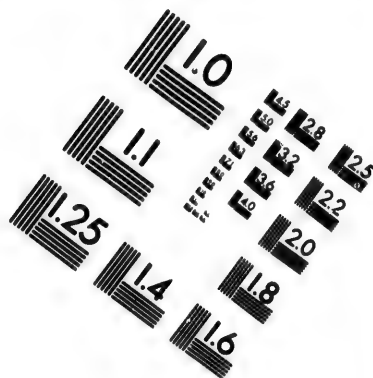
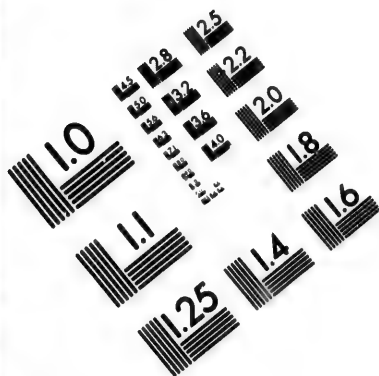
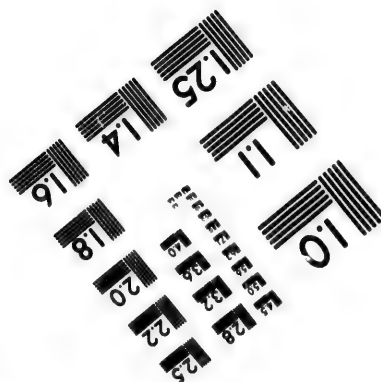
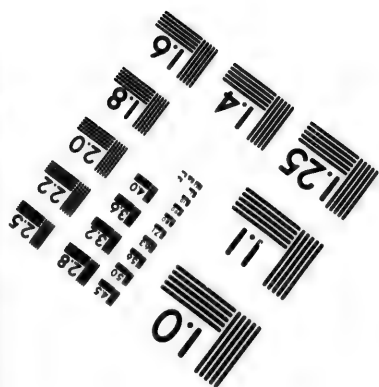
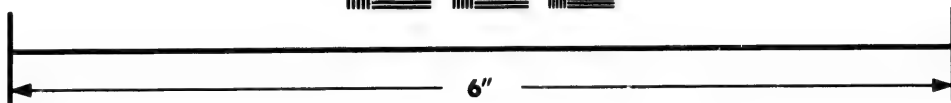
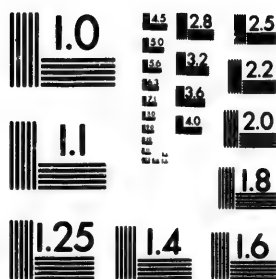


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that of Goyogouan. They were re-conducted with the same honours as they had received on their entrance into the country, as far as Gan-nentaha, and there waited some time for the deputies of Onneyouth, who did not however appear, and this canton contented itself with sending a belt, with an excuse, that the chief of the deputation was taken with sickness. It was afterwards found that this was only an evasion, that they might not be obliged to give up their prisoners. Joncaire soon after arrived, with six deputies of Tsonnonthouan, and three Frenchmen, whom he procured to be liberated, and engaged to follow him. Ten prisoners only were collected in all the cantons, but Teganisforens asserted that he would make search for the remainder, and have them conducted to Montreal.

The ambassadors and deputies were about to embark, when Tsonnonthouan arrived from Orange, and said, that the Governor of New England, much dissatisfied that, notwithstanding his injunctions to the contrary, the cantons should persist in the resolution of making peace with the French, had arrested and put in irons an Onneyouth, accused of having killed an Englishman, seized the beaver furs which he found at Orange, the property of the Iroquois, hoisted a red flag, to publish his intention of declaring war, gave order

orders to the Mahingans to commence hostilities, and that he threatened to march on the following year to the cantons, to teach them to respect his will.

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The deputies listened with tranquillity to this recital, which appeared to make no other impression upon them than to excite an emotion of displeasure. They set out, to the number of nineteen persons, and on their arrival at Montreal were received under a discharge of small field-pieces, which created a degree of jealousy in the minds of the allies, some of whom enquired if such was the manner in which they received their enemies? The French reflected not perhaps on the consequences, and a day was fixed for hearing the propositions of the Iroquois. The loss of the attachment of friends is often hazarded in wishing to regain enemies, whom such a conduct frequently tends to render more haughty and intractable.

The orator of the cantons spoke in a few words, and with much modesty. He claimed great merit from the prompt obedience of his nation, in that two hundred warriors being on the point of entering on a campaign to take vengeance on the French allies for their last acts of hostility, they had stopped them, at the simple request of Father Bruyas with his two collars on the part of their Father Ononthio: he made

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known the discontents, which the orders and menaces of the Governor-General of New England had excited among the deputies: he added, that as the contempt they had shewn for his message might draw them into a war with the English, he hoped that the Iroquois would find at Catarocony not only merchandise, which they would in that event no longer receive from Orange; but likewise the arms and ammunition of which they might be in want, to be able to subsist without the English commerce, or to defend themselves should they be attacked.

The assembly was more numerous on the day appointed to answer this discourse. The Chevalier de Callieres there repeated to the deputies what he had before said to the first envoys, that he had with regret learned accounts of the hostilities which were on either side practised during the last campaign; that the losses of the Iroquois had much afflicted him, although their origin could be imputed only to themselves; and that hereafter he would pursue such measures as would not in future give rise to similar calamities. He told them they had acted with prudence in preventing the march of their warriors; that they would have nothing further to apprehend on the part of the allies, whose principal chiefs they saw before them, and who had come to receive his commands: that they had evinced their good intentions,

tentions, in having restored to him a part of the French prisoners : that he relied on their sending back all the others, as they had given their engagement to that effect, and that they would also return to his allies all of their brethren who might yet be among them. For the performance of this article he would allow them until the month of August of the following year : the deputies of all the nations should then repair to Montreal, that an exchange of prisoners might there take place on either side, and all things should then be put into the same state in which they were before the commencement of the war.

As the time he had given them appeared long, he declared, that if there should arise any misunderstanding, or if evil-disposed persons should give rise to hostility, he wished the party injured to address itself to him, without doing itself justice by its own arm, and he would cause atonement to be made : if the aggressor should refuse to submit to the satisfaction which he should prescribe, he would himself join the party who had received the wrong, to constrain him to that measure, and would cause him to repent of his disobedience : that it should not rest with him, if the Governor of New England did not possess the same line of conduct, and act in concert with him, as was the pleasure of the two sovereigns, their masters. What they demanded with respect

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to the fort of Catarocony, did not depend entirely upon him, but he would write upon that subject to the King, and in awaiting the answer of his majesty he would detach to that post an officer and men, with a smith, and some merchandise.

The Iroquois applauded his discourse. The Rat, who was deputy and chief of the Hurons Theouraontates, then spoke as follows : " I have always shewn obedience to my father, and I throw my hatchet at his feet. I doubt not that the people from the higher country will do the same. Iroquois, imitate my example." The deputy of the four Outaouaisian nations spoke nearly in the same tone ; that of the Abinaguis said, that he had no other hatchet but that of his father, who having interred it, he no longer possessed one. The Iroquois Christians made the same declaration. There existed a kind of pique between the two last and the Iroquois deputies, but it was effaced by the prudence of the General, and a species of provisional treaty was signed.

M. de Callieres who thus successfully applied himself for the pacification of his government, endeavoured to secure the alliance of all the nations with whom the French could possibly have any connection ; and for this purpose he made it his study to counteract every obstacle to the establishment of a good understanding, so essential

tial to the preservation, and to the tranquillity of the French colony.

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M. Brouillan, Governor of Acadia, having learnt that vessels from England were expected at Boston, whose destination was against Quebec, and to cruise in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, dispatched a courier to make known this intelligence to M. de Callieres. Of this the General had already received information, and was further told, that the militia of New York was on its way to Boston; that the Iroquois were strongly solicited by the Governor of New England to expel the French missionaries from their country; that some of the cantons had agreed to that proposal; that many of the Indian allies were in treaty with the English, by the interposition of the Iroquois, and that some of them alleged, as an excuse for their conduct, the high price of the goods supplied by the French. This old ground of complaint, which was but too well founded, arose, in part, from the poverty of the inhabitants of Canada, and in part from the avarice of the merchants of the country, as well as of those of France; it became, therefore, a plausible pretext, which the savages could always introduce, to cover their inconstancy, or to conceal their disaffection.

In such a conjuncture, it was requisite that M. de Callieres should first endeavour to defeat the intrigues

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intrigues of his enemies among the cantons of the Iroquois, and it was here that he commenced his operations. He then wrote to his court for reinforcements, and turned his views towards completing the fortifications of Quebec, taking every other precaution which his experience and activity could suggest. He was, in himself, the greatest resource of which New France could boast, but she had the misfortune to lose him, at a period when his services were become more than ever essential. He died on the 26th of May, and the regret felt for his loss manifested, on the part of the inhabitants, that they estimated his merits as not inferior to those of the most accomplished leaders that the colony had ever possessed.

1703.

Of talents less brilliant than those of his predecessor, he was endowed with more solidity of temper: unprejudiced, unbiassed by passion, his views were disinterested and upright. His firmness was influenced by reason, his valour by moderation and coolness of disposition. He possessed an excellent understanding, whose dictates were always guided by probity and honour. To a penetrating genius were added all the aids which application and experience can impart. From the first outset of his military career in the colony he had gained a great influence over the savages, to whom he never violated his promise.

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By his death the office of Governor devolved upon the Marquis de Vaudreuil, whose services had rendered him so great a favourite among the people, that they united in petitioning the King for his being appointed successor to M. de Callieres: a mark of general satisfaction, which was not displeasing to the monarch, who, having already a partiality for the character of the Marquis, was pleased to accord with their wishes.

Convinced of the advantages of gaining the Iroquois, that officer paid great attention to the Tsonnonthouans, who came to Quebec soon after the death of M. de Callieres. He sent to accompany them to this country the Sieur Joncaire, who had already negotiated with success in that canton, and was again so fortunate as to prevail on one of the principal chiefs to attend him to Canada. This savage thanked the Governor-General for his kindness in promising protection against the enemies of his nation: he expressed much regret that the Onnontagués had not sent deputies to congratulate the Governor, and for the suspicion of unfavourable intentions which such an omission might occasion. He then continued as follows:

“ We have never yet communicated what I am about to disclose. Hitherto we have pretended to be the sole proprietors of our territories, and it was on this account that we adopted

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“ adopted the measure of becoming only specta-
 “ tors of what passed between thee and the
 “ English: but, behold a collar, which I present,
 “ to declare to thee, that we invest thee with the
 “ absolute domain of our country. Thus, my
 “ father, if any unfortunate circumstance should
 “ occur to us, or should we have recourse to
 “ thy aid, consider us as thy children, and place
 “ us in a condition to support the resolution
 “ which we have adopted. With respect to the
 “ missionaries, be assured that I would sooner
 “ perish than suffer them to leave my country.”
 He confirmed this resolution by a collar, and
 presented another, to obtain leave that Joncaire
 should pass the winter with him.

Joncaire accordingly departed with this savage
 chief. Teganissorens soon afterwards came to
 Montreal, and in an audience with the Governor-
 General, began by displaying much dissatisfaction.
 “ The Europeans,” said he, “ are of a bad
 “ disposition: they make peace among them-
 “ selves, and the most trifling circumstance
 “ causes them to resume the hatchet. We
 “ savages act in a different manner, and must
 “ have strong reasons for breaking a treaty of
 “ which we have signed.” He afterwards de-
 1705. clared that his canton would take no part in a
 war, as it disapproved of aggression on either
 side. M. de Vaudreuil wished for nothing more
 than

than that assurance: and to deprive the Iroquois of all pretensions for breaking a neutrality so advantageous for the colony, he resolved not to send, on the side of New York, any parties against the English.

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With respect to an arrangement of the difference between the Iroquois and the Outaouais, some difficulties occurred; for although the prisoners which had been taken were restored, they exacted a reparation for those which had been killed. This was not easy to be obtained, and it was apprehended they would resume their hostilities. The Outaouais on their part would not listen to peace: all their young men were bent on war. The apprehension of a flame being revived, which had with much trouble been subdued, obliged the General to dispatch M. de Louvigny to Michilimakinac, and this officer succeeded at length with much difficulty in bringing the Outaouais to reason. He caused to be restored to the Iroquois some prisoners whom he found remaining at that post, and conducted them himself to Montreal. In presenting them to M. de Vaudreuil, he told him that the principal chiefs of the Outaouais were following him thither; which induced the General to recommend those of the Iroquois to come to an explanation with them, and to receive their prisoners. They had arrived on the beginning of August,
and

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and remained until the 14th, in expectation of the Outaouais, who had not then arrived, and the Governor, unable to detain them longer, took leave of them. He did not however fail to point out to them the regard which he manifested for them, in waiting so long at Montreal to accommodate their differences with the Outaouais : but he observed to them, that he could not comply with their wish by declaring himself against the savages, as he was not bound in virtue of the treaty to join his arms to those of the offended party, but when he should despair of obtaining from the aggressor an ample satisfaction : that upon this point he should not be remiss : that he had already procured the liberation of all the prisoners, and that he hoped the aggressors would perform what remained to complete the required degree of satisfaction.

It appeared that this discourse had appeased them, and they embarked to return to their country, when the Sieur de Vincennes arrived from Michilimakinac. He informed the Governor-General that he was come with the chiefs of the Outaouais, and that he had left them not far from the island, because they had requested him to go before them, to learn of their father if he would be pleased to admit them into his presence. M. de Vaudreuil sent to inform them they might approach, and called back the Iroquois.

The

The Outaouais appeared in a state of humiliation, which announced that they pretended not to justify their fault. "My father," said the chief who was chosen as their speaker, "we confess that in attacking the Iroquois upon thy territory, we in some degree aimed a blow against thee: pardon inconsiderate warriors, no longer directed by councils, because all their ancients are dead. Thou mayst inflict on us such revenge as thou judgest most suitable; but if thou art inclined to pardon us, thou shalt not repent of thy clemency. Whilst we continue to live, we will not cease to shew thee marks of our gratitude; and we are henceforward disposed to make to those whom we have offended every species of satisfaction which thou wilt be pleased to impose on us."

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He then addressed himself to the Iroquois who were present, and spoke in a manner that made a deep impression on them. The General afterwards found no difficulty in effecting a reconciliation. He charged the Outaouais to make ample satisfaction for the dead, to which they readily agreed, and began by making some presents to the Iroquois, a ceremony which the General also did not forget: he afterwards regaled both parties, and they returned to their homes with mutual satisfaction.

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M. de Beauharnois, who had succeeded M. de Champigny in the intendance of Canada, was nominated intendant of marine, and M. M. Raudot, father and son, were appointed his successors. The latter, who had exercised the office of first commissary at Dunkirk, took charge of the marine. Justice, police, finance, and the general affairs of the colony, became the province of the father; who having learnt that the inhabitants began to ruin themselves in law-suits, to the great prejudice of agriculture, resolved as much as possible to restrict the frequency of these procedures, and undertook himself to promote amicable accommodations between parties at variance; a measure in which he succeeded even beyond his expectations.

1706.

He proposed to the council of the King, that the inhabitants who cultivated flax and hemp should be permitted themselves to manufacture these articles of produce into stuffs, as from the loss of a large vessel which was coming to the colony loaded with woollen and linen cloths, the prices of these necessities of life were become so extravagant that the poorer orders could not purchase them, and the greatest part of the colonists were almost reduced to a state of nakedness.

The answer of the minister was, that the King learnt with great satisfaction that his subjects of

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Canada were at length sensible of the error they had committed, in attaching themselves only to the trade for furs, and that they were beginning to apply themselves seriously to the cultivation of their lands, particularly to the raising of hemp and flax: that his majesty hoped they would in time be enabled to construct vessels at a cheaper rate than in France, and to form proper establishments for carrying on the fisheries. That they could not be too much excited to these objects, nor too greatly encouraged in the means of their attainment. That it was not the interest of the parent state that manufactures should be carried on in America, as it would diminish the consumption of those in France; but in the mean time he did not prohibit the poor from manufacturing stuffs in their own houses, for the relief of themselves and their families. From this permission, the inhabitants have ever since continued to fabricate coarse linens and druggets, which has enabled them to subsist at a very small expence.

In the mean time the Outaouais did not seem very eager to fulfil the condition on which they had obtained pardon from the Marquis de Vaudreuil. On the other hand, the missionaries of Michilimakinac, after having burnt their house, descended to Quebec, because the licentiousness of the *Coueurs de Bois*, more unrestrained than

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ever, had deprived them of all hope of rendering any service in that quarter, where, since the departure of the Hurons for Detroit, not a single Christian remained. The Outaouais, therefore, abandoned to themselves, followed only the dictates of their own caprice.

The embarrassment into which this incident threw the General was much augmented by the advice which he received, that the Iroquois, impatient at the delay of satisfaction on the part of the Outaouais, seriously thought of declaring war against them. To prevent this measure was of the greatest consequence, and M. Joncaire was immediately sent to repeat to the cantons the solemn promise of a speedy and entire satisfaction. P. Marelt was prevailed on to return to his mission of Michilimakinac, on promise that the subject of his dissatisfaction should no longer be allowed to exist. He was accompanied by M. de Louvigni, and both, by the ascendancy which they had gained over the Outaouais, at length obliged these savages to perform to the Iroquois the full extent of their engagements.

This affair was scarcely terminated, when another occurred, of a nature much more troublesome, and which, had it not been for the prudence and firmness of the Governor-General, would have engaged the French in a war against their allies, perhaps have reduced them to the
necessity

necessity of destroying the nation, which until then had been constantly attached to their interests, and would have afforded to the Iroquois a pretext to re-commence their hostilities.

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A party of the Miamis had killed some of the Outaouais, and their ancients, from whom justice was demanded, were satisfied with saying that it was an accident. Some time after an Outaouais of great consideration among his countrymen, was likewise killed by a Miamis. Justice was again required, and a similar answer to the former was again given. The Outaouais felt the injury in the most lively manner, and addressed themselves to M. de la Motte Cadillac, who commanded at Detroit, where there was a village of the Miamis, another of the Outaouais, and another of the Hurons. This officer replied, that he would make inquiry into the manner in which the affair happened, and that reparation should be made.

A few days afterwards he set out for Quebec, and in taking leave of the Outaouais told them, that whilst his lady remained at Detroit they might rest in tranquillity; but that if she left this place, he would not be answerable for what might afterwards occur. At the expiration of two months Madam la Motte embarked to go to join her husband at Quebec, and then the last words which the commandant had said to the

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Outaouais,

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Outaouais, and the circumstance of his quitting them without procuring for them satisfaction from the Miamis, made them apprehensive that the French had resolved on their ruin, to punish their aggression against the Iroquois at Cataracony; for although they had made reparation for that fault, as the savages never sincerely forgive, they are always doubtful of the sincerity of pardon on the part of those whom they have offended.

An officer named Bourgmont, arrived at Detroit to relieve the Sieur de Tonti, whom M. de la Motte Cadillac had left there to command in his absence. The savages having gone to pay their respects to him, according to custom, enquired if he had not brought them some news interesting to them. He replied with a haughty air, that he should not be surpris'd if M. de la Motte should return in the spring, accompanied by a considerable force.

This answer, with the tone and manner in which it was given, afforded ample room for reflection to the Outaouais. They were persuaded that some design was formed against them, and they dissembled not their apprehensions. Bourgmont having been made acquainted therewith, assembled them, and after having made use of every argument in his power to restore their confidence, he propos'd to them to

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go to war in conjunction with the Miamis, the Iroquois, and the Hurons, against the Sioux. He flattered himself that he had engaged them for this purpose. But the discourse which he had given, and the proposal which he made, served only to confirm them in the thought that he wished to betray them by means of the chief of the Hurons, who was of a deceitful and intriguing spirit; and they imagined that this man acted in concert with the Miamis, who, they supposed, only pretended to march against the Sioux, in order to fall upon them whilst they might be unprepared, and that the Iroquois were engaged in the conspiracy. Their suspicions every day gained strength by the new intelligence which they received from every quarter, and which would have made little impression upon them if their mind had not been pre-occupied; they therefore resolved to anticipate the designs of the Miamis. Those among them who possessed the most reflection, wished first to come to an explanation with the French; but the greater number, influenced by a chief named the Heavy, was of a contrary opinion. This chief recalled to their recollection all the causes of distrust which had been given by the commandant of Detroit, and the resolution was taken to fall upon the Miamis on the first occasion that should present itself; but in the mean time to assume the appearance

pearance of preparing to make war against the Sioux.

All being in readiness to depart for this expedition, the chiefs of the Outaouais went to find Bourgmont, and enquired of him if he had received no account from Quebec or from Montreal. That officer appeared not even to attend to what was said, which gave them much offence; almost at the same time the dog of Bourgmont having bit one of the savages in the leg, who in consequence thereof beat the animal, the commandant fell upon the savage with great fury, and gave him so many violent and repeated blows that he died a short time after. This act of violence threw the Outaouais into despair. They departed the following day breathing out vengeance, convinced that it was necessary for their preservation.

No person but the chiefs was however instructed with their design, the rest of the nation expecting to march against the Sioux; but when they had gained the woods, the whole were informed of what had occurred, and it was recommended that no injury should be offered either to the French or to the Hurons. They returned home, and some time after having met six of the Miamis, they attacked them and killed five. The sixth escaped into the fort, crying out that the Outaouais were killing them. At this cry all the

the Miamis who were yet in the village ran to take refuge in the fort, and as they perceived the Outaouais pursuing them, the commandant gave orders to fire upon them, and several were killed. Father Constantin, a recollet, was walking in his garden, ignorant of what was passing; some Outaouais seized and bound him; but Jean le Blanc, one of their chiefs who had assisted at the assembly of Montreal when the general peace was signed, released him, and requested that he would go and inform the commandant, that the Outaouais wished not to attack the French, and beg that he would cease from firing on them. As the recollet was entering the fort, some Miamis who were running thither came up with him, which the Outaouais perceiving discharged their fusils, and Father Constantin receiving a shot immediately fell dead. A French soldier who was returning from the village of the Hurons was also killed in the same manner. They continued to fire from the fort, and thirty of the Outaouais were killed. There was reason to believe that this tumult would only cease by the destruction of one of the parties, who appeared enraged against each other, and were guided only by the dictates of revenge; but, when it was least expected, the Outaouais retired into their village: the other savages acted in the same manner, and tranquillity was re-established.

Intelligence

Intelligence of what had happened being carried to Quebec, the Governor found himself much embarrassed; and what tended to increase his difficulties, was a deputation which he at the same time received on the part of the Iroquois. The deputies declared that the cantons were resolved to make war against the Outaouais: that after what had taken place, they doubted not he would deliver over to them that perfidious nation; and they added, that they had already communicated their intentions to the English.

La Motte Cadillac had set out to return to Detroit with his family, and a large convoy of men and provisions; thus the General had it not in his power to advise with him respecting what was necessary to be done in so delicate a conjuncture. He however began by declaring to the Iroquois, that he would not suffer them to make war on the Outaouais without his full consent, and spoke to them in so resolute a tone, that he made them lay aside their design.

He sent an order for all the French at Michilimakinac to descend into the colony, in hopes that this mark of his resentment would promote a division among the savages, and oblige the innocent to deliver up the guilty. He communicated his resolution to La Motte Cadillac, and recommended it to him to be satisfied with remaining on his guard, and to undertake no enterprise until

until circumstances should point out the people against whom he should act; and he could come to no determination before he knew the success of the mission of Joncaire, whom he had dispatched to the Iroquois.

This advice arrived too late at Detroit, where the commandant had nearly lost every thing, from having too much presumed on the authority which he had acquired over these savages. He had learnt on his journey accounts of the disorder which had happened at his post, and as he was then near to the canton of Tsonnonthouan, he there took an escort of a hundred and twenty men. He even adopted stronger measures, for he requested the other cantons to send as many of their warriors as they could spare, to wait at the entrance of the Strait, that part of the St. Lawrence which flows from Lake St. Clair into Lake Erie, in order to witness the manner in which he would treat their ancient enemies.

It was not long before he became sensible of the imprudence of this conduct, and on his arrival at Detroit, instead of marching against the Outaouais as he proposed, he contented himself with calling to him their chiefs; they, on their part, alarmed by the approach of the Iroquois, answered, that they would give an account of their conduct to their father Ononthio, and La Motte Cadillac judged it prudent to proceed no further.

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further. He remained quiet in his post, and the Iroquois were sent home.

As soon as the winter was past, the chiefs of the Outaouais departed for Montreal, where they arrived in the month of June, and there found M. de Vaudreuil. Jean le Blanc, who was the orator, began by an exact recital of what passed at Detroit, and insisted much on their having been assured, that should they have marched, as was intended, against the Sioux, the Miamis would have massacred their women and children, and have burnt their villages. He then said, that a few days after the fatal tumult which had rendered them criminal in the eyes of the French, he went to make his apology to the Sieur de Bourgmont, but could not procure an audience: that on the following day he returned for that purpose no less than six times, and each time with a savage of a different nation, carrying belts and beaver skins, but all was in vain. He pointed out the rash conduct of that officer, who by firing upon the Outaouais had occasioned the death of the recollet father, and of the French foldier.

“ In fine, my father,” said he, “ behold me at thy feet: thou knowest that I am not the most culpable, and if I had been thought so, thou wouldst not have had any subject of complaint against us. Thou knowest that I never swerved from

from my duty until that fatal day: thou mayest be informed that I am the son of one of the greatest of the savages of all the higher nations, who am come across the woods to present myself to thee. M. de Courcelles had committed to him the key of the colony, and invited him frequently to come thither: it is the dearest inheritance which I have derived from him, to whom I owe my existence: but of what utility would the custody of this key prove, if I could not use it on the only occasion in which I want to avail myself of this privilege? For what purpose then am I come so far? I am come to present my own head; I am come to present thee with slaves, to revive the dead; I am come hither to assure thee of the respect of thy children; what can I do more? I however clearly perceive that thou wilt not be satisfied because we have not delivered up to thee the Heavy, who is properly the only guilty person; but it is impossible for us to place him in thy hands without drawing upon our arm all the nations of which he is the ally."

M. de Vaudreuil answered, that he comprehended well the difficulty which must occur in bringing to him the Heavy, whom nevertheless he wished to have, and should have, in his power: that all the nations were informed of the misconduct of the Outaouais: that as Detroit had been

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the theatre of that mischief, it was there that reparation must be made, and that he would transmit his orders on this head to M. de la Motte Cadillac: that they should forthwith repair to him, and should not fail to execute whatever he should dictate.

He took leave of them with this answer, without accepting their collar, and he sent with them M. de St. Pierre, to whom he gave his instructions for the commandant of Detroit. On their arrival at this post La Motte Cadillac peremptorily declared to them that there was no favour to be expected if they did not produce the Heavy; and he added, if he had not restrained the Hurons and Miamis, those nations would already have taken vengeance.

They saw that there was no other resource but to obey, and they told the commandant, that they would go in search of the criminal, and would either bring him with them, or take away his life. They departed for Michilimakinac, and M. de Saint Pierre accompanied them thither. The promptitude of their obedience gave reason to suppose that La Motte Cadillac had insinuated that he would use indulgence. The Heavy arrived soon after at Detroit, and was immediately put in irons: all the chiefs of his nation threw themselves on their knees to demand pardon for the prisoner, which was immediately granted.

M. de

M. de Vaudreuil was not of opinion that the prisoner should have been pardoned, but that he should have been delivered up to the justice of his nation, in which he would at least have remained without credit, and who perhaps would have been obliged to have sacrificed him to his enemies. The present measure however turned out to be the most proper, and produced none of the inconveniences which were apprehended from it. The General had given to the Sieur la Motte Cadillac a power to act at Detroit in the manner he should think the most advantageous for the service. The only disadvantage arising from his clemency was, that he had promised to the Miamis the head of the Outaouais chief, and they soon afterwards displayed their resentment because he had not adhered to his engagement.

These savages had their principal establishment on the river St. Joseph, where father Aveneau, their missionary, by an unalterable meekness of disposition, and an invincible patience, had gained over them the same influence which father Allouez his predecessor had possessed. M. de la Motte Cadillac, who wished to govern these savages according to his own manner, would not suffer that in the village of this nation, three hundred leagues distant from Detroit, any person should hold more credit than himself, and obliged father Aveneau to abandon his mission. The Miamis,

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Miamis, having no longer a missionary to moderate their sallies, renewed their applications to be revenged on the Outaouais chief. The commandant wished to amuse them, and ordered to Detroit the object of their hatred, after having given him assurance that he had nothing to fear, and all that was exacted from him was, that he should settle with his family at this post.

The Miamis, reduced to a state of despair at finding themselves thus deceived, killed three Frenchmen, and committed some ravages in the vicinity of Detroit. La Motte Cadillac was even informed that they had conspired to massacre him, and to put to death all the French at Detroit: that some Iroquois and Hurons had entered into the plot, and that they would already have executed their sanguinary project if a Ouyatanon had not betrayed them. This intelligence, and the insult which he received, made him resolve to attack these barbarians, and he took means for that purpose: but it happened that his preparations tended to conclude with them an accommodation honourable for himself, and for his country.

It never fails to happen, that savages become presumptuous in their conduct, in proportion to the moderation which is shewn them; and the Miamis observed not the conditions of the treaty, in which they had remarked certain indications
of

of weakness. The French commandant was therefore obliged to march against them at the head of four hundred men, partly composed of Frenchmen, and partly of savages. They defended themselves with resolution, but being forced in their intrenchments, and having no other resource but in the clemency of the conqueror, they submitted to every condition that was required of them. But to prevent them in future from being guilty of some fresh imprudence, which would necessitate the French to push them to extremity, it was thought advisable to send back their missionary.

The Iroquois cantons observed a strict neutrality; to which the missionaries, by their vigilance, doubtless contributed. But their conduct in this respect was in a great degree imputable to the offices of the Sieur de Joncaire, and to the good understanding which this officer maintained with them. Adopted by Tionnonthouans, and beloved by the Onnontagués, he went incessantly from one canton to another: he acquainted the missionaries with every thing that occurred, and took no step but in concert with them. The Iroquois were charmed with his affability: he spoke their language as well as they themselves: he gained them by his liberality: he was respected for his daring conduct, and he well knew what part to act, without hesitation, on occasions

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where promptitude of decision was required; qualities of essential moment in the situation where he was placed.

But whilst the French succeeded in preventing the heathen Iroquois from taking any part against them, the Governor of Orange negotiated with almost equal success among the christian and domiciliated Iroquois of the colony. For some time a relaxation had been remarked in the piety of these converts, and which could be attributed to no other cause than that of inebriation, from which it was no longer possible to restrain them. For, notwithstanding the reiterated prohibitions of the King, and the exertion of the Governor of Montreal, the commerce of spirituous liquors had resumed its vigour, and it was discovered that no great dependance was to be placed on the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, and of the Mountain, with respect to their aid in warlike expeditions.

1708.

In a council at Montreal held in the spring, wherein the chiefs of all the christian savages established in the colony, and several of the Abinaquis were present, it was resolved to form a body of a hundred chosen Canadians, besides a great number of volunteers, most of whom were officers, making together with the savages four hundred men. M. M. de Saint Ours des Chailons, and Hertelde Rouville, were to command the

the French, and the Sieur Boucher de la Perriere was to conduct the savages. As it was of importance that the object of this armament should be kept secret until the moment of the departure of the warriors, and that the march should be expeditious, it was settled that the two first commanders should take the route of the river Saint Francis, with the Algonquins, the Abinaquis of Bekancourt, and the Hurons of Lorette, and that La Perriere with the Iroquois should go by Lake Champlain; that all should rendezvous at the Lake Nikispique, and that the neighbouring savages of Acadia should likewise be there at the time appointed.

Several incidents had nearly contributed to stop this enterprize, and delayed the departure of the warriors. On the 26th of July they began their march, but when Des Chaillons and Rouville had arrived at the river St. Francis, they received advice that the Hurons were returned home, because one of them being killed by accident in the chace, this misfortune made the rest suppose that the expedition would be unsuccessful. The Iroquois, whom La Perriere led by Lake Champlain, soon pursued the same conduct, pretending that some of their people were sick, and that the malady might be communicated to the army.

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M. de Vaudreuil, to whom the commanders gave advice of this desertion, requesting at the same time his orders, answered, that although the Algonquins and Abinaquis of Bekancourt should also desert them, they should not fail to pursue their route, and that they might make an irruption on some distant settlement, rather than return without having performed any thing. Des Chaillons communicated this letter to the savages, who affirmed that they would follow him wherever he should lead them: they then proceeded to the number of two hundred, and after having gone a hundred and fifty leagues by ways almost impracticable, they arrived at Lake Nipissik, where they did not find the Abinaquis whom they expected.

It was resolved, in these circumstances, to march against a village called Hewreuil, composed of twenty-five or thirty houses well built, with a fort in which the commandant lodged, and which contained thirty soldiers who had recently arrived there, having been ordered thither by the Governor of New England, who upon advice of the march of the French had sent similar detachments into all the villages of that part of the country.

The French despairing of carrying the place by surprise, believed they might effect it by a sudden

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sudden attack. They rested for the night, and next morning, an hour after sun-rise, they marched against the fort. After a bold resistance they carried it sword in hand, and set fire to it. The houses which were defended shared the same fate. Several of the inhabitants were killed, some were taken, and some were consumed in the houses. The sound of drums and trumpets began to be heard from the neighbouring villages, and not a moment was to be lost in order to insure a retreat. This was effected in good order, each taking no greater quantity of provisions than was necessary for his return. The French had scarcely advanced half a league, when on entering a wood they fell into an ambuscade formed by seventy men, who before they could be seen had each discharged his musket. Both horsemen and foot soldiers were advancing behind, and nothing was now left but to make a desperate attempt against the party that had fired. The French threw down their provisions, and advanced with impetuosity to the spot whence the fire proceeded. So unexpected an attack from persons who, they supposed, had been thrown into disorder, totally disconcerted them, and most of them were killed or taken. The party returned to Montreal with the loss of about thirty men.

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1709.

On the 10th of May a person called Vetch, who, about four years before, had sounded all the difficult passages of the river St. Lawrence, under pretence of coming to Quebec to treat for an exchange of prisoners, arrived from England, and took post at Manhatti, to forward at that place the raising of troops, who were to act on the side of Montreal. Intelligence of this circumstance soon reached the French, and likewise that Vetch had presented to the Queen of Great Britain a memorial, representing the facility of the conquest of Canada, and the great advantages which England might derive from such an acquisition. It was added, that her majesty had approved of the project, and had promised to Vetch, in case of success, the government of New France: that ten large and as many small vessels were fitted out for the expedition. That six thousand regular troops, under the command of an officer named Macardy, were to be embarked in this fleet: that two thousand English and as many savages were to attack the government of Montreal, and that their rendezvous was settled at the river *du Chicot*, two leagues from Lake Champlain, where they were to construct canoes and batteaux, and afterwards to descend to Chambly.

M. de Vaudreuil assembled without delay a council of war, wherein it was resolved to march
a de-

tachment towards New York, in order to endeavour to dissipate the storm which was there collecting, that the colony rendered secure on that quarter, might re-unite all its strength against the English fleet, if it should come to Quebec. Not a moment was to be lost in executing this resolution, and M. de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, offered to take the command; but his proposal was not then accepted, and no other reason could be assigned for this refusal, but a coolness which subsisted between him and the Governor-General. M. de Sabrevois, a captain, was detached with thirty men, to proceed before Rouville, who was not yet returned, and to facilitate his retreat.

Two months afterwards, there being no longer any doubt that the English were on their march with a great body of Iroquois and Mahingans, and information having likewise been received that several forts were constructed at different distances from Orange to Lake George, M. de Vaudreuil yielded at length to the instances of the Governor of Montreal. He placed him at the head of fifteen hundred men, composed of regular troops, militia, and savages.

The General afterwards descended to Quebec, to forward the works which were carrying on, and to lay an embargo upon all vessels which might arrive from France. On the 28th of July

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M. de Ramezay set out from Montreal : his van conducted by M. de Montigny, was composed of fifty Frenchmen and two hundred Abauquis, supported by Rouville with a hundred Canadians. After them marched a hundred regular soldiers. The Governor of Montreal followed with five hundred Canadians, distributed into five companies. The Iroquois Christians formed the rear guard under the conduct of Joncaire. Some Outaouais and Nepissings were placed on the wings.

This army marched forty leagues in three days, and had it gone as far as the enemy's camp, it might have effected some successful enterprise ; but the jealousy subsisting between the officers and their commander, the fault of indiscipline in the troops, and defective intelligence which was given to M. de Ramezay, tended to render the expedition abortive. After having made some prisoners and killed an officer commanding a hundred and twenty men, who had advanced too far, a report was circulated that an army of five thousand men were not very distant, and that they were fortified with intrenchments. The savages at the same time declared, that it was their opinion that they ought not to proceed further, and that it appeared much more advisable to defend the advanced posts of the colony, than to proceed so far in search of an enemy, who

who had possessed leisure to fortify his camp, and who could besides be supported by all the young men of Orange and Corlar. On this account a council of war was assembled, and it was there resolved to retreat. The Governor of Montreal was necessitated to conform to this deliberation, because he doubted whether, if he advanced, he should be seconded by those who were under his command.

On his return to Montreal, towards the middle of September, he received advice by an Iroquois lately arrived from the enemy's camp, that two thousand five hundred men were in march to build a fort at the extremity of Lake St. Sacrement, or Lake George, and that six hundred more were detached to take possession of a post on Lake Champlain, from whence they could come in two days to Chambly. He immediately dispatched the same savage to Quebec, where M. de Vaudreuil then was ; and that general, seeing no grounds of apprehension of a siege being laid to the capital, embarked immediately for Montreal, and there assembled a considerable body of troops and militia, with whom he went to post himself at Chambly, where he remained for some time without hearing any accounts of an enemy. He then formed two detachments of fifty men each, under the orders of Des Chaillon and de Montigny, to reconnoitre the hostile camp.

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These two officers approached very near to the entrenchments, and were enabled to count the number and to distinguish the size of the canoes.

Some time after, the English burnt their canoes, reduced their forts to ashes, and retired. This measure was embraced on account of the perfidious conduct of the Iroquois. In a council held at Onnontagué, one of their orators demanded, if they had ceased to remember that their nation, situated between two powerful people, capable each of exterminating them, and whose interest it was to effect that object when they should no longer be in want of their assistance, their whole attention should therefore be directed to place them both always under a necessity of courting their aid, and to prevent the one from falling a prey to the other. His discourse made an impression on the assembly, and a resolution was immediately adopted to conduct themselves in the present exigency according to those rules of policy which they had hitherto been accustomed to observe.

The Iroquois had no sooner joined the English army, than fearing, that with the addition of their reinforcement, it would be sufficiently strong to take Montreal, they thought only of the means of weakening it. The army was encamped on the banks of a small river. The Iroquois, who passed almost their whole time in hunting, agreed to

to throw into it all the skins of the animals which they killed, a little way above the camp, and by this means the water soon became infected. The English, unsuspecting of this diabolical act, continued to drink the water, and died in great numbers.

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It is certain that this mortality, of the cause of which the English were ignorant until a considerable time afterwards, obliged the army to remove from so baleful a situation, and where they were aware, if they remained under such disadvantageous circumstances until they were attacked, a defeat would probably ensue. They retreated to Manhatti, where they learnt on their arrival that the English fleet destined for the siege of Quebec was not at Boston; and that it had been sent to Lisbon, where the bad success of the Portuguese arms on the frontiers of Castile, in the commencement of the campaign, made the King of Portugal apprehensive, that if he was not reinforced by timely assistance, he would be compelled to come to an immediate accommodation with Spain.

B O O K VIII.

Warlike Preparations of the English.—Conference of the Savage Deputies at Montreal.—Army of the English march in different Directions to invade Canada.—Retreat of the Armies.—Part of the English Fleet wrecked on Seven Islands.—Outagamis march to attack the Fort at Detroit.—Arrival of the allied Savages to the Relief of that Fort. Outagamis entrench themselves, build a Fort, and are besieged.—Reduced to great Extremity.—Refuse to surrender at Discretion.—After a Siege of nineteen Days, they escape during a Storm.—Are overtaken.—Obstinate Resistance.—Are compelled to surrender at Discretion.—Are put to Death.—Governors of New England and of Canada receive, in consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht, Instructions for a Cessation of all Hostilities.—Fort constructed by the English at the Mouth of the Chouagon, and by the French at Niagara.—Proposal of M. de Vaudreuil for peopling the Colony.—Death of M. de Vaudreuil.

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ON the following winter the Onnontagués sent deputies to M. de Vaudreuil, to beseech him to receive them into his favour. They assured him that they had entertained no design of injuring the French, but they did not explain the scheme which they had practised to render useless the great preparations of the English. They

They observed to him, that the war had not been undertaken with the general consent of the cantons, nor even of those who had taken up arms. This nation had repeatedly testified that it disapproved of a war between the English and French, and in a second audience which the deputies had with the General, after the orator had declared his sorrow at seeing two people whom he esteemed, almost ever occupied in hostilities for the destruction of each other, he added, with a freedom which is known only to barbarians; "Are you then both intoxicated, or is it I who am devoid of understanding?"

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He also proposed an exchange of prisoners between the Dutch and French, which was accepted and executed on both sides. M. de Vaudreuil then said to the deputies, that his allies awaited only a declaration of war against the Iroquois, and if they would avoid this misfortune, they must remain in tranquillity; that on the first movement which he should see them make, he would give to all his allies full liberty to fall upon them.

Intelligence being soon afterwards received, that the Governor of New York was redoubling his efforts to engage the Iroquois cantons in an offensive league against the French, and the fear of having to resist at the same time all those savages, whilst they were threatened with an attack

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tack from the English, made much impression upon the inhabitants. This induced M. de Vaudreuil to cause to descend to Montreal as great a part of the savages from the upper country as possible, not only for the defence of the colony, but to hold the Iroquois in respect. He sent to Michilimakinac two persons well acquainted with the savages, and respected by the French allies, to exhort them to come without delay to give to their father proofs of their fidelity and attachment.

It was further necessary to secure the neutrality of the cantons, and the Baron de Longueuil was sent, in conjunction with Joncaire and La Chauvignerie, to treat with them, and to assure them whilst they remained quiet spectators they should have nothing to apprehend from other nations. But if, notwithstanding their solemn engagements, they should embrace the part of joining themselves to the enemies of the French, they must expect to have all the people of the north and west to fall upon them, and to allow them no quarter.

The envoys were well received at Onnontagué, and at Tsonnonthouan, and they conducted to Montreal deputies from these two cantons. They avowed to M. de Vaudreuil, that they were powerfully solicited by the government of New York to break with the French: they added,

that the fidelity of several of their nation might be relied on, but that the greatest part were inclined towards the English, gained by the presents which they liberally bestowed, and persuaded that the French would fall at length under the great efforts which their enemies were preparing to make in order to overwhelm them on every side.

Saint Pierre Tonti and others, who had been sent to the higher nations, arrived at Montreal with between four and five hundred savages, and as the Iroquois deputies were not yet gone, the Governor embraced the opportunity of accommodating a difference which had subsisted for some years between the cantons on one part, and some of the allies on the other. He found in this affair less difficulty than he imagined, and concord was restored to the satisfaction of both parties.

Intelligence was brought to M. de Vaudreuil, that General Nicholson was arrived at Boston with two ships of war of seventy guns each : that he was to be followed by six other vessels of sixty guns each, three bomb vessels, and thirty transports, which were to be joined at Boston by two ships of fifty guns, and five transports, intended to carry three thousand militia ; and that they only waited for the arrival of the rest of the fleet in order to sail.

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A corps composed of the militia of New York, and of the savages of that province, amounting to two thousand men, was said to be assembled at Manhatti, and that Canada was the object of these warlike preparations. This advice was afterwards confirmed by an Iroquois, whom Teganissorens sent to M. de Vaudreuil, to inform him that the English fleet had sailed from Boston, and that two hundred batteaux had been prepared at Orange; that a hundred more were expected to arrive there, and that Abraham Scuyler, brother of the Governor of Orange, had visited all the cantons, to engage them to take up arms against the French.

On receiving these accounts, the Governor-General assembled the Iroquois deputies who had accompanied de Longueuil and Joncaire, and communicated to them what he had learnt. He told them that the Dutch had declared themselves against him, notwithstanding reiterated assurances on their part to preserve neutrality, and the care which he had taken to guard against offending them; it was therefore his intention to send a party of men to that quarter, but that the Iroquois ought not to be alarmed. He then delivered to them some of their countrymen, whom he had rescued from the hands of the Ouyatanons, and added, that it remained only with them to preserve, according to their promise,

mise, a neutral conduct : that they ought to call to remembrance the treaty of peace, so solemnly entered into under his predecessor, between all the nations ; that they could not dispense with rendering to the French the justice of religiously observing all its conditions, and that it was still more their own interest than his, to pursue the line of conduct which he proposed to them.

The following day he made a great war feast, to which he invited all the domiciliated savages, and all those of the allies who had come from Montreal. The assembly consisted of eight hundred warriors, before whom Joncaire and La Chauvignerie raised the hatchet, and sung the song of war in the name of Ononchio. All the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, those of the Mountain who were then united with those of the Sault de Recollet, and the Nipissings, or Algonquins of the island of Montreal, answered to it with loud applause. The savages of the upper country were scrupulous in declaring themselves, because they were almost the whole commercially connected with the English, from whom they derived greater profits than from the French ; but twenty Hurons of Detroit having taken up the hatchet, all followed their example, and assured the General that he might dispose of them as of the subjects of his King.

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The Governor-General did not think it necessary to retain the whole of these savages, and immediately dispatched the greatest part of them, as well as the deputies of the Iroquois, because the season was already far advanced. He was satisfied with keeping near him a few of each nation, that he might evince to the English and to the Iroquois, that he had an entire authority over his allies.

M. de Vaudreuil, on his arrival at Quebec, found all the orders which he had given to M. de Boucourt well executed, and the place in a condition to sustain a siege of some length. All the coasts below Quebec were so well guarded, that an enemy could not disembark at any of the settlements without being obliged to come to skirmishing, which the disadvantage of the land, being covered with wood, rendered it dangerous to attempt. Several ships were seen in the river, by the inhabitants, but at a great distance below Quebec. In a few days after this intelligence was received, two small vessels arrived from Gaspé, the masters of which affirmed that they had seen no ships in the river. The General then sent M. de Ramezay to Montreal with six hundred men, which he had brought down with him. He soon after followed with six hundred more soldiers, which, joined to those remaining under

under the orders of M. de Longueuil, to guard the head of the colony, composed an army of three thousand men, who were marched to Chambly and there encamped. His design was, in this position, to await General Nicholson, whom he knew to be in march on that side; but he soon after learnt that an army, in which were many of the Iroquois, had retreated, and Rouville was immediately detached with two hundred men to acquire more certain information respecting it. This officer marched, without meeting any person, beyond the Great Portage, which is on the road to Orange, and was there joined by three Frenchmen who had been sent to that village in the month of June. They were set at liberty after the return of General Nicholson, and informed Rouville that the consternation in Orange had been great, at the news of a misfortune that had happened to the English fleet.

The retreat of the two English armies which was to have attacked New France at the same time, by sea and land, and to divide its forces by occupying them at the two extremities of the colony, being no longer doubtful, and a report having been circulated that the first was shipwrecked in the river St. Lawrence, near the Seven Islands, the Governor sent thither several barks. They there found the remains of eight

large vessels, whose cannon and stores had been taken out, and the bodies of a number of drowned persons cast upon the shores.

The English admiral had, it was afterwards learnt, on board of his ship a French prisoner named Paradis, an old navigator, and who was well acquainted with the river St. Lawrence. This man informed the admiral, that when he was near the Traverse of the Seven Islands, he ought not to approach too near towards the land, and as the wind was unfavourable, and they could only sail upon a tack, they were frequently obliged to put about. The admiral at length grew weary of this manœuvre, and perhaps suspected it was only ordered by the pilot to harraiss the sailors. He therefore refused to allow the ship to tack so often, and approached so near to a little island called *Ile aux Œufs*, where he was overtaken by a squall from the south-east, that his own, together with seven other ships of his fleet were driven upon the rocks, and very few of the crews were saved.

It was reported that the English were preparing another fleet to besiege Quebec, and the Governor-General found by the generosity of the merchants of that place, a sum of fifty thousand crowas, to be applied towards strengthening the fortifications. Advice was at the same time received, that the English were reconciled with the Iroquois,

Iroquois, and hoped to engage this restless nation, in exciting disturbances in the north and west of Canada.

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There was reason for supposing, that if Joncaire had not secured the neutrality of the Tsonnonthouans, and the Baron De Longueuil had not negotiated with his usual address, among the Onnontagués, the French would have found themselves in a state of embarrassment, which it would not have been easy to have surmounted. Deputies of the cantons at length came to offer new excuses for the past, and great protestations of an inviolable fidelity in the performance of their future engagements. It was necessary to pretend a belief of their sincerity: M. de Vaudreuil spoke to them, however, with firmness, and made them afterwards considerable presents, sending them home with a disposition more favourable towards the French than that with which they had set out.

Not long before this period the Iroquois had excited against the French a new enemy, equally brave with themselves, less political, more ferocious, whom it never was possible either to subdue or to gain, and who like some insects, which appear to have as many lives as different parts of the body, regenerated, it may be said, after their defeat, and reduced almost to a handful of robbers, were found in every quarter, and be-

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came an object of dread to all the people of that part of the continent, interrupting for a space of twenty-five years the commerce of the country, and rendering the roads almost impassable for a circuit of five hundred leagues. These were the Outagamis, commonly stiled the Foxes.

Until the time to which we allude they were but little known in Canada, but they had lately entered into a confederacy with the Iroquois, and had undertaken to burn the fort of Detroit, and to kill all the inhabitants. To execute this design they had come in great numbers to the vicinity of that place, and there was no species of insult which they did not offer to the commandant.

The Kikapous and the Mascontins had entered into their design; the latter had already arrived, and they only waited for the former to put it in execution, when they received advice that an Outaouais chief, named Jaguirna, and some Pouteouatamis, had killed about a hundred and fifty Mascontins. They became enraged at these news, and a Christian Outagami, much attached to the French, informed the commandant that his fort would be immediately attacked. He had then with him only twenty Frenchmen, and his principal resource was in the Hurons, the Outaouais, and some other savages, with whom he was allied, but who were then employed in the chase.

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He sent to desire they would hasten to his aid: he caused to be demolished all the houses erected on the outside of the fort, and took every other measure which the time would allow to sustain the first efforts of the enemy. On the 13th of May he received accounts of the approach of his allies, among whom were Outaouais, Hurons, Pouteoutamis, Sakis, Malhomines, Illinois, Ojages, Missourites, and each nation carried its particular standard. This army stopped at the village of the Hurons, who were of opinion that they ought not to encamp, but proceed forthwith to the French fort. They sent forth a general cry, with which the country resounded, and were immediately answered by the enemy, who detached forty of their number, naked, but painted in a frightful manner, to observe the confederates.

The allies being near the fort, the chiefs sent to demand permission to enter, and the gates were immediately opened. Du Buiffon the commandant gave them a reception proportioned to the service which they had rendered him, and after they had all taken their places around him, according to the savage custom, the person who spoke in name of the whole addressed him as follows: "Behold, my father, thy children
" around thee. We fear not death; we will
" cheerfully perish, if necessary, in defence of

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“ our father : the only favour which we require
“ of thee, is to engage Ononthio, the father of
“ all the nations, to take care of our wives and
“ children, and that thou shouldst cover our
“ dead bodies. Thou seest that we have quitted
“ our villages and families to come to thy aid ;
“ we came from thence with such expedition,
“ that we have neither brought ammunition nor
“ provisions ; we therefore hope that thou wilt
“ supply us with both.” The commandant
returned them thanks in a few words, and
distributed provisions, lead, powder, and to-
bacco.

The Outagamis had constructed a fort not far from the French, where they had entrenched themselves with considerable strength ; however, they scarcely had time to perceive that they were invested on every quarter, when the constant fire that was kept up on them obliged them to dig deeper into the earth. The besiegers then preparing a kind of scaffold, of twenty-five feet high, from whence they fired with such advantage into the fort, that the enemy could no longer go out to procure water, and their provisions being soon consumed, they suffered much from hunger and thirst. In this extremity, deriving courage from despair, they fought with much resolution, and the victory was long doubtful. They placed on their pallisadoes pieces of cloth

cloth for flags, crying out with all their force, that they had no other father but the English, who would not fail to come to their assistance, or to avenge their death. They got possession of a house which was not entirely demolished, and which joined their fort. They there raised a redoubt, from whence they fired under cover of the gable. But it being at length levelled by cannon shot, the enemy sent forth dreadful cries, and soon after sent to ask permission to present deputies to M. Buiffon. Before allowing them this indulgence, he wished to procure the consent of the chiefs, and assembled them in council: they were of opinion, that this opportunity ought to be embraced in order to draw from their hands three women who were prisoners among them. They were then made acquainted that their deputies would be received. Next morning the chief of the Outagamis, named Pemoussa, accompanied by two warriors, presented himself at the entrance of the camp; he was admitted, and introduced into the council which was assembled. He placed before the commandant two captives and a collar, praying that he would allow two days, that the old men might deliberate on the means of appeasing him, and of giving him satisfaction. He then turned himself towards the savages, made them a present

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thus :

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“ Remember that we are your brethren, and
“ that in shedding our blood, it is your own
“ which you spill. I therefore supplicate you to
“ soften the spirit of our father, whom we have
“ unhappily provoked : these two slaves are to
“ replace the blood which we have occasioned
“ to be lost.” As the savages made no reply,
Du Buiffon gave the deputies to understand that
he could not be assured of the sincerity of their
repentance, because they had not brought back
the wife of Saguima, and the two women they
had taken with her, and that he would not listen
to any accommodation until they produced these
three captives. Pemoussa excused himself by ob-
serving, that this depended not upon him, but
that he would make known the request to his
ancients. They granted him the remaining part
of the day, and assured him that all firing should
cease until his return, provided no person went
out of the fort. Two hours afterwards, two
Mascoutin chiefs and an Outagami arrived with
a white flag in their hand, followed by three wo-
men whom they presented to the commandant.
They expressed much regret for having displeased
him, and conjured him to allow their whole party
liberty to withdraw. Du Buiffon replied, that
it

It rested not with him; that for this they must address his allies, to whom he had given his word, that they should be absolute masters to act in this business according to their pleasure.

This answer was much applauded by the savages, and the principal chief of the Illinois said in the name of the whole, addressing himself to the deputies, " Your past conduct, and the engagements you have entered into with our enemies, leave us no room to doubt that you have some evil intention in demanding from our father liberty to retire: you would no sooner have left your camp, than you would begin to form some new machination against him, and you would come to attack him at a time when perhaps we should be too remote to assist him. You believed that we were ignorant of the engagements which you have entered into for this purpose with his enemies, and of the promises you have made to establish them here, after having exterminated all the children of Ononthio; but you are deceived. Know then that it is our final resolution not to receive you but at discretion, and not to stir from hence until we have compelled you thus to surrender: even our father shall not oblige us to alter it, and in this instance we would disobey him. We are better acquainted than he with the depravity of your heart, and

" we

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" we shall not abandon him to your mercy.

" Enter quickly into your fort : we only wait

" for this, in order to renew our fire."

The deputies returned with this unexpected answer, and as soon as they had entered their fort the attack went on with renewed vigour. The defence was not less obstinate. The besieged let fly three hundred arrows at once, at the ends of which they placed lighted matches, and fuses with gunpowder, in order to set fire to the French fort ; they there burnt several houses covered with straw, and it was necessary, to prevent the flames from spreading, to cover the remaining buildings with bear and deer skins, and throw a great quantity of water upon them.

A resistance so determined, at length wearied the confederates ; they despaired of the success of their enterprise, and pretended to be afraid that the French would relax in furnishing them with provisions. The French who saw them almost resolved to retire, and who by their retreat would be exposed to the rage of an irritated people, began to think of embarking for Michilimakinac, and Du Buillon was upon the point of flying before enemies, whom he had reduced to the last extremity, and whom two days before he had seen on their knees, conjuring him to content himself with their becoming his slaves. It was necessary, in order to regain the savage chiefs,

chiefs, and to rekindle their expiring valour, to despoil himself of every thing he had, and when he believed he had engaged by his liberality each individual in his favour, he assembled the council. He there complained that they were about to abandon him to the most formidable danger, after having engaged him to continue the combat. He expressed his astonishment that so many brave warriors would renounce a victory which was certain, and creditable to them. Some of the chiefs seemed surprized at his discourse, and interrupted him by an assurance that they had ever resolved to shed the last drop of their blood, rather than leave the enterprise unfinished, and that they could not comprehend who could have inspired him with the unjust suspicions which he had expressed. The whole made the same protestation; they sung anew the song of war, and each resumed his post: the besieged foresaw that they had no other hopes but from the hard conditions which were proposed to them. It has been observed, that among the confederates were some Sukis: there were also several among the enemy; because this nation was divided into two factions, one of which was attached to the Outagamis, and the other to the Pouteouatamis. The part of that nation which was blockaded with the former almost totally deserted it, and from hence it was learnt that the besieged were

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at the last extremity ; that they suffered more from hunger and thirst, than from the fire of the besieged : that they had already lost eighty men, and that their fort was filled with dead carcases, which caused a terrible infection. All this was found to be perfectly true, and the enemy shortly after demanded a parly. It was believed they would surrender at discretion, and it was permitted that they should send deputies. Two chiefs, one of whom was Pemoussa, came forthwith, accompanied by several prisoners, and in a condition which appeared calculated to impress the confederates with sentiments of pity. They said, that they dared not to hope that their lives would be granted to them, but that they demanded pardon for their old men, their women, and children. " Remember," added they, " that we are your relatives : it is your own blood after which you seem to thirst : would it not be more honourable for you to spare, and more advantageous to have us for your slaves?" Pity never finds an easy admission into the breasts of savages, and the long resistance of the enemy had irritated the besiegers. They persisted in the demand that the Outagamis and their allies should surrender at discretion. Some of them even proposed to Du Buiffon to massacre the deputies, but he answered with displeasure, that they must be mad to offer to him
such

such a proposal: that these two men had come to him, relying on his word, which he had given them in consequence of the consent of the council, and that he would never suffer the smallest outrage to be committed on them whilst they were in his fort.

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They replied, that these two envoys were the authors of all the mischief; and having themselves frequently had recourse to perfidious measures, they did not merit so scrupulous a conduct with respect to them; but that, in the end, they would gain nothing even by this. The commandant replied, that it became neither him nor them to imitate their example, and he sent back the two deputies, telling them that he had no other answer to make than that which had already been given. The only hope which remained to these wretched people, was to be able to make their escape in bad weather, and after the nineteenth day of the siege, a violent storm accompanied with rain having occasioned the besiegers to withdraw, they embraced the opportunity which offered, and made their escape in the night.

Their flight was discovered next morning at day-break, and they were immediately pursued. They were found entrenched at four leagues distance from their former situation, upon a peninsula which advances into Lake Saint Clair, and

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and as their intrenchments were concealed, the assailants having approached with little precaution, had more than twenty men killed or wounded. It was necessary to re-commence a siege, which continued four days, and would have been protracted to a much greater length of time if the French commandant had not ordered out two field-pieces. The besieged then surrendered at discretion, and almost the whole of those who had arms in their hands were, without mercy, instantly massacred. The remainder, amounting to a hundred and fifty, without including the women and children, were made slaves, and shared amongst the confederate nations, who kept them not long, and put to death almost the whole before they separated.

The loss of the allies amounted to sixty men killed or wounded; the Hurons, among whom were twenty-five Iroquois Christians, distinguished themselves above the rest, and lost more of their number, but this expedition cost the enemy more than a thousand persons.

Du Buiffon there acquired much credit from his firmness, and disinterestedness, which led him to deprive himself of every thing in his possession in order to bestow it on the allies. The fruit of this victory was, that the English laid aside the thought of forming an establishment at Detroit, which would have entirely ruined New France,

not

not only on account of the situation of this place, which is the centre of, as well as the finest country in Canada; but likewise, because it would have been impracticable to hold the smallest communication with the savages of the higher countries, nor with Louisiana.

There still remained many subjects of difference to be settled amongst the French allies, and in order to succeed in effecting an accommodation, it was conceived necessary to re-establish the fort of Michilimakinac. Towards the end of this year several officers of merit and experience were sent to visit the nations of the north, and of the west, and to prevail on them to forget all subjects of discontent which they might have occasioned to each other. M. de Louvigny was also sent to rebuild the fort. The whole of this business was executed with as much success as conduct, and tranquillity was perfectly re-established in Canada.

It was however impossible to engage these people not to carry their furs to the English, as they had openly done for several years. Even the domiciliated savages followed the torrent, and it would have been necessary, in order to remedy this inconvenience, to augment in France the price of the beaver, and diminish in Canada that of the merchandise used in exchange for the furs. The first of these expedients did not depend on

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those engaged in the traffic, but if they had rightly comprehended their interests, they would have carried into effect the second, by causing to be sent every year to Quebec merchandise on their own account, to an amount equal to the extent of their credit. This influx of manufactures into the colony would have lessened their value, and would have enabled the merchants to afford them to the savages at a cheaper rate; but the ideas of the French commercial body in Canada were not yet sufficiently enlarged, to be persuaded of the propriety and advantage of such a measure. The commerce of furs fell, therefore, almost entirely into the hands of the English.

In the mean time, although the negotiations for peace were not yet terminated at Utrecht, the Governor-Generals of New France and of New England received from their respective sovereigns precise orders for a total cessation of every act of hostility between the two colonies and their allies. A little time after, news was received that the Queen of Great Britain had withdrawn from the league which was formed to dethrone the Catholic King, Philip the Fifth. Nothing could be more fortunate for the government of Boston, where the Abinaquis were committing great ravages; and this circumstance was a principal reason why the court of London would never relax, respecting the cession of Acadia.

Acadia. It shewed the same firmness with regard to the French possessions in Newfoundland, and in Hudson's Bay; and Louis the Fourteenth, who had his reasons for not throwing any obstacle in the way of the treaty which he was about to conclude with her Britannic Majesty, sacrificed at length all those provinces, and the right which he pretended to possess of sovereignty over the five Iroquois cantons.

This last article took from the French nothing in reality, and conferred as little on the English, because these cantons renewed the protestations, which they had more than once made, against the reciprocal pretensions of their neighbours, and well knew how to maintain themselves in the possession of their liberty and independance. The English, who procured from them part of the advantages which the sovereignty of the nations would have given them, never thought it prudent to subdue them; they were afterwards satisfied with building a fort at the mouth of the Chouguen, on Lake Ontario. But as the Onontagués saw, without opposition, this establishment made on their territories, the French obtained from the Tsonnonthouans permission to erect a similar fort on the river Niagara, nearly on the same spot which the Marquis de Denonville had before fortified. They refused to the English the same permission, saying that they

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were at liberty to admit into their country whom they pleased, and that they would not suffer in it, at the same time, two different people, who by their mutual hatred would disturb their tranquillity.

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The Iroquois came this year to renew their alliance with the Governor-General, and offered him their mediation in case of a new rupture with the English. He now began seriously to reflect upon some plan for fortifying and peopleing the colony, whose inhabitants, instead of augmenting, he saw with regret diminishing in their number. He stated to M. Pontchartrain, the minister of France, that Canada possessed no more than four thousand four hundred and eighty inhabitants in a state to carry arms, from the age of fourteen to sixty years, and that the twenty-eight companies of marine paid by the King amounted to no more than six hundred and twenty-eight soldiers. This small number of persons was spread over an extent of a hundred leagues. That the English colonies had sixty thousand men in a state to carry arms, and there could be little doubt that on the first rupture they would make a powerful effort to get possession of Canada. With respect to the means of completing the companies of the King's troops, there could be no difficulty, after the great reduction which had taken place in France. On the

the subject of augmenting the number of the inhabitants, he was aware it might be objected, that able men did not abound in any of the provinces of the kingdom of France, and that the exhausted state of the finances did not admit of making large advances for conveying new colonists to America, and for enabling them to subsist there, until they could by their industry supply themselves with the necessaries of life. He endeavoured, however, to obviate these difficulties and objections by proposing a new expedient, which appeared to him more easily attainable.

There were every year a considerable number of criminals condemned to the galleys, for whose services the King had little occasion, and who might be made useful in cultivating the lands; their expence was paid by the farmers general, and a hundred and fifty of these unfortunate persons might be spared every year for Canada. The farmers general would get them conducted to Rochelle, and might pay for each a hundred and fifty livres, on which they should have a final discharge against all future claims. Their expences amounted to a hundred *francs* a-year each, and there was not one who was not condemned to labour for at least eighteen months, and some for ten years. All that the farmers general could desire was, that they should not

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return to France, for which M. de Vaudreuil engaged to be responsible.

If the King should agree to this proposal, all the vessels which were destined for Canada might each be obliged to receive a stated number, so that the whole of the convicts transported annually should amount to a hundred and fifty men, for each of whom fifty livres should be paid on his arrival in the colony. That they should be distributed among the inhabitants, to work as hired servants, for a space of three years, after the expiration of which they should be free, but without the power of returning to France; and to place them in a condition to provide for themselves, a hundred livres, a part of the hundred and fifty already mentioned, should be placed in the hands of their masters, who should be obliged after the three years of service to give them fifty crowns. The inhabitants would think themselves fortunate to procure men upon such conditions, and this would imperceptibly cause an augmentation of colonists accustomed to labour.

The Outagamis, more irritated than weakened by the great loss which they had sustained at Detroit two years ago, infested by their robberies, and stained with their cruelties and massacres, not only the environs of the bay of Lake Michigan, their native country, but almost all the routes

routes which formed the communication with the distant posts of the colony, and those which conducted to Louisiana. Except the Sioux, who frequently joined them, and the Iroquois, with whom they had entered into an alliance, but who appeared not to assist them openly, all the nations connected with the French suffered much from their hostility, and it was to be apprehended that if they shewed too great a desire to remedy that evil, the greatest part of the nations would come to an accommodation with these barbarians.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil therefore proposed, that they should unite with him for the expulsion of the common enemy. They each gave their consent, and a party of Frenchmen was raised, the command of which was given to M. de Louvigny. A number of savages joined him on his journey, and he soon found himself at the head of eight hundred men, resolved not to lay aside their arms whilst an Outagamis remained in Canada. It was generally believed that this nation was on the eve of being entirely destroyed: of this it was itself persuaded when it saw the storm forming against it; and every one had no other hope but that of selling his life as dear as possible.

More than five hundred warriors, and three thousand women, were shut up in a kind of fort,

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surrounded by three ranges of pallisades made of oak, with a ditch before them. Three hundred men were in march to reinforce them, but they arrived not in time. M. de Louvigny attacked them, in form; he had two field-pieces and a small mortar; he opened the trenches at thirty-five toises distant from the fort, and on the third day he had advanced within twelve toises from it, although the besieged kept up a constant fire from their muskets. He then made a disposition for playing off mines under their curtains, which when they perceived, they demanded to capitulate the same evening, and proposed conditions, which were rejected. Soon afterwards they presented others, which the commandant communicated to the savages. They imported, that the Outagamis and their confederates should make peace with the French and their allies; that they should immediately restore all the prisoners they had made; that they should replace the dead by slaves whom they would procure from the distant nations with whom they were at war; and that they should defray to the French and their allies, from the produce of their chase, the expences of the present war.

M. de Louvigny stated, that his allies, to whom he gave the few beaver skins with which the Outagamis presented him, had approved that he should pardon the besieged, upon the conditions offered,

offered, but he deceived himself if he believed them sincere. They did not afterwards dissemble their discontent; he however left them to their discretion, and returned to Quebec, where he had the gratification of being well received by the General, and of hearing in the following year that his conduct was approved of by the court, and evidently shewed that he had strictly obeyed the orders which had been given him: the sequel will evince, that the orders had been framed without a sufficient knowledge of the cause they were intended to remove. M. de Louvigny, on granting peace to the Outagamis, had received of them six hostages, all chiefs, or sons of chiefs, as a security for the observance of the engagements into which they had entered, to send to Montreal deputies to ratify the treaty with the Governor-General: and this treaty, which they delivered in writing to Louvigny, expressly related to the cession of their country to the French.

Unfortunately the small pox, which the following winter made great ravages in the colony, and amongst the neighbouring nations, cut off three of the hostages who died at Montreal, and among others the famous warrior and chief Remoussa, who had been spared at the massacre of Detroit, and from whose influence the Governor had hoped to derive considerable advantages. The apprehension

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apprehension entertained by the General that this misfortune would derange the treaty, obliged him to ascend to Montreal in the winter, and as soon as the navigation was open, he intended to have dispatched M. de Louvigny to Michilimakinac, with an order to execute the conditions accepted by the Outagamis, to conduct to Montreal the chiefs of that nation, and those of all the others, and at the same time to cause to descend into the colony all the *Coueurs de Bois*, to whom the King intended to grant an amnesty.

Louvigny could not depart until the end of May in the following year. He took with him one of the hostages who had been attacked by the small pox, and had lost an eye, that he might testify to his nation the care which had been taken of him and his colleagues. On his arrival at Michilimakinac he dispatched this man to the Outagamis, with presents to cover the dead, and sent with him two interpreters who were Frenchmen: they were well received, and they sung the calumet. After having allowed some days to the relations of the deceased to bewail their loss, they assembled to hear the account given by the hostage. He spoke with considerable ability, and blamed the chiefs for not having come to Michilimakinac. The nation then declared to the interpreter, that it was sensible of the kindness

ness which Ononthio continued to shew them, but that many reasons prevented the deputies from going this year to visit him: it promised that next year it should be acquitted of its engagement, gave this promise in writing; and added, that it should never fail to recollect that it owed its present existence to the clemency of its father. The hostage set out with the interpreters to rejoin M. de Louvigny, but after having proceeded twenty leagues he forsook them, saying, that it was proper he should return to his nation, to oblige it to perform the promise which had been given.

This man was never after heard of; his nation sent no deputies to the Governor-General, and M. de Louvigny gained no other advantage by his journey, than to bring back into the colony almost all the deserters; he engaged a great number of savages to carry their furs to Montreal, where for a length of time so great a quantity had not been brought. M. de Vaudreuil long amused himself with the hope, that the Outagamis would send him deputies; but they left him to reflect on an observation, of which the occurrences of human life give frequent example, that an enemy driven to the point of despair is always irreconcilable. They have since been beaten in various rencounters,

but

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but they have on their part obliged the Illinois to abandon their river, and although, after their repeated defeats, it was difficult to conceive that a sufficient number would remain to form a small village, it was not safe to pass from Canada to Louisiana without taking great precautions against being surprised by them. They united, it is true, with the Sioux, the most numerous nation in Canada, and with the Chicachas, the most brave of the savages of Louisiana.

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The death of M. de Vaudreuil on the 10th of October of this year was sincerely felt by the colony. The sorrow which was manifested on the part of the inhabitants was proportionate to the satisfaction which had been displayed when he was first appointed to the government, over which he presided for twenty-one years, and the fortunate events which took place during that period were in a great degree derived from his vigilance, firmness, and good conduct, and from the success which almost uniformly accompanied all his enterprises.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, captain of the marine, succeeded him in the following year, and the repose which his government enjoyed induced him to form the plan of an enterprise for penetrating to the South Sea.

Louisiana

Louisiana was at this period so intimately connected with Canada, by means of the Illinois, that we shall revert, in the following books of this volume, to the discoveries of the Sieur de la Sale, and shall now proceed to state the unfortunate issue of his endeavours to find the mouth of the Mississippi by coasting the Mexican gulph.

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Louisiana

BOOK IX.

De la Sale sails from France, in a Squadron, for the Discovery of the Mouth of the Mississippi, by Sea.—Arrives off St. Domingo.—Loss of one of his Vessels.—Arrives at Bay St. Bernard.—His Pink is wrecked.—Return of the Frigate to France.—Constructs a Fort at the Mouth of a River.—Ascends that River and constructs another Fort.—Abandons the former.—Loss of the Ship La Belle.—La Sale returns from visiting the Country of the Cenis.—Sets out with a Party to penetrate to the Mississippi, and thence to the Illinois.—Murder of three of his Party.—His own tragical Death.—His Character.—Two of his Murderers destroy each other.—Party set out for the Cenis.—Seven Frenchmen accompany these Savages in a War Expedition.—Victory.—Ceremonies.—Joutel and Cavelier separate their Party from the Murderers of La Sale.—Set out for the Illinois,—arrive at the Akansas,—at the Mississippi,—at the Illinois,—at Quebec,—in France.—The Clamcoëts fall upon Fort St. Louis, and massacre all the Inhabitants, except the three young Talons, their young Sister, and a young Parisian.—Remainder of those concerned in La Sale's Murder confined in Chains, to be sent to the Mines of New Mexico.—The young Talons and their Sister, by a singular Series of Events, are restored, after an Absence of several Years, to their Country, and their Friends.

BOOK
IX.

AMID the vast variety of human characters, there is no virtue which is not mingled with some defects. It is a reflection not less true

true than humiliating, that the greatest faults should not unfrequently accompany the most eminent qualities, and that jealousy, which *these* fail not to inspire in others, should find always in *those* a specious pretext to cover the meanness and injustice of that passion.

It is the province of men, to whom the reins of government are assigned, to throw light upon this labyrinth of error, to draw forth truth from the veil of obscurity with which passion hath surrounded it, and to endeavour so completely to develop the propensities of the persons whom they mean to employ on services of importance, that in profiting by their good qualities they may guard against the operation of such as may have a contrary tendency.

These reflections were particularly applicable to M. de Seignelay, minister of France, and to M. de la Sale, when it was resolved to make use of his services. The latter, encouraged by the favourable reception with which he was honoured, proposed a design which he had formed to explore the sea at the mouth of the Mississippi, thereby to open a navigation for the vessels of France, and to settle an establishment on that part of the American continent.

Having completed the outlines of his plan, the minister delivered to him his commission, which imported that all the French and savages who should

true

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should be found from fort St. Louis of the Illinois, as far as New Biscay, should be under his orders, and that the commandant of the squadron which should carry him from France to America should execute whatever he should prescribe on the voyage, and should afford him on his landing all the aid which he should require, provided it did not tend to prejudice the safety of the King's ships.

Four ships of different dimensions were armed at Rochefort, and two hundred and forty-five persons were therein embarked, besides the complement of men on board a frigate. The remainder was composed of a hundred soldiers, a Canadian family, about thirty volunteers, some females, and a certain number of servants and artificers. There was, besides, a citizen of Rouen, named Joutel, who had long served in the army, and in whom M. de la Sale discovering strong marks of capacity and genius, made him his intendant of affairs, an office which he discharged with the greatest fidelity. It was from the memoirs of this man that the only relation of the voyage and discoveries of M. de la Sale, on which reliance can be placed, was afforded to the public.

The four vessels which were destined to convey this small colony, were the Ioli, a frigate of forty guns, commanded by M. de Beaujeu ; an

armed vessel of six guns, named *La Belle*, which the King had given to M. de la Sale; the *Aimable* of three hundred tons, and a small pink of thirty tons loaded with ammunition.

This squadron sailed from Rochelle the 24th of July 1684, in company with a fleet for the islands, and for Canada, which were to remain under the orders of Beaujeu until they were out of the view of Europe; but, by an accident which happened to one of the masts of the frigate, they were obliged to put back to Rochelle. They again set sail on the 1st of August, and on the 16th they came in sight of Madeira. The captain of the frigate proposed to M. de la Sale that they should anchor there, to take in a supply of fresh water, and to purchase refreshments. To this proposal De la Sale would by no means consent, saying, that they had only been fifteen days at sea, consequently, they ought neither to be in want of water nor provisions; that they could not stop at Madeira without unprofitably losing at least eight days; that his enterprise demanded the greatest secrecy, especially with respect to the Spaniards, who could not fail from thence to take umbrage, if it became known to them; and it would be difficult to conceal it, if they should make their appearance in an island so near to the Canaries, of which the King of Spain was sovereign: in a word, that such was not the inten-

tion of his majesty, whose instructions relative to this expedition were known to him alone.

This answer much displeased M. de Beaujeu, and put the whole ship's company in a bad humour against M. de la Sale. On their arrival at St. Domingo this misunderstanding was carried to a still greater length. De la Sale had orders from the minister for M. de Cussi, who commanded in that island, and these particularly regarded his intended enterprise. M. de Cussi's usual residence was at Port de Paix, which is on the north side of the island, and it was reasonable to suppose that they should there come to an anchor. M. de Beaujeu did not however find it convenient, and anchored at the Petit Goave, on the western side, where he arrived on the 27th of September. He there learnt that the Governor was at Port de Paix, with the Chevalier St. Laurent, Lieutenant-Governor, and M. Begon, intendant of the American islands, who, in virtue of a special commission from the King, had come to St. Domingo to aid M. de Cussi in making some new regulations of police, to give a more consistent form to the administration of justice, and to remedy many disorders which tended to ruin the commerce of this infant colony.

M. de la Sale wrote to the Governor, requesting that he would come to visit him, because he had many things to communicate relative to the
King's

King's service, it being impracticable for him to leave his squadron to wait on the Governor at Port de Paix. Not only the Governor, but the Chevalier de St. Laurent, and even M. Begon, cheerfully undertook the voyage to Petit Goave, where they found M. de la Sale extremely ill. His malady was chiefly occasioned by vexation and disappointment: he had learnt a few days before, that his armed vessel had been taken off the coast of St. Domingo by two Spanish gallies; an accident which might have been avoided had they anchored at Port de Paix, and which contributed not a little to augment the ill humour which prevailed between him and Beaujeu.

The reason which actuated this commander obstinately to persist in a matter, which it should seem could be but indifferent to him, can be ascribed to no other source than personal hatred to M. de la Sale. To be placed under the orders of a person possessing no rank in the navy, cannot be very agreeable to the commander of a King's vessel; but if M. de Beaujeu was not disposed to execute a reasonable service which was exacted from him, why should he have accepted of the command on this condition? M. de la Sale on his part could not comprehend that a commander should be offended, because orders had been issued by him which that commander had once undertaken to obey. He therefore

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took no measures of conciliation, placed no confidence in M. Beaujeu, and to all the proposals of that officer made answer, that such was not the intention of his sovereign. It was not by means like these that he could interest in his enterprise a person, on whom its success greatly depended.

M. de la Sale at length recovered, and after some intercourse with the Governor of St. Domingo and the two commissioners, who cheerfully afforded him every aid which he demanded, he had nothing further to detain him; he therefore took his departure on the 25th of November, more embroiled than ever with M. de Beaujeu. On the 12th of December the squadron doubled Cape St. Antoine, which is the west point of the island of Cuba, and entered the Gulph of Mexico; but on the 14th a violent contrary wind obliged it to return to the cape, where it remained until the 18th. On the 28th it came in view of the land of Florida, and from what had been told De la Sale, that in the Gulph of Mexico the current tended towards the east, he doubted not that the mouth of the Mississippi could not be far to the westward; an error which was the source of all his misfortunes.

He therefore turned to the west, but advanced little, because from time to time he approached the land, and steered within view of the coast in
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search of the object of his expedition. On the 10th of January 1685 the Squadron was, as was afterwards found, not far from the Mississippi, but passed it without the boat having been sent in to explore. Some days afterwards, from information which was given by the savages, M. de la Sale wished to return to the same place, but Beaujeu refused to comply, although obliged thereto by virtue of his instruction. They both became still more dissatisfied with each other; and M. de la Sale, after having obstinately persisted in exacting obedience in matters of much inferior consequence, unfortunately yielded, when he ought principally to have availed himself of the authority with which he was invested.

They pursued, therefore, the same course to the westward, and the Squadron in a few days arrived in the bay of St. Bernard, but without a knowledge of their actual situation. This bay is one hundred and twenty leagues to the south-west of the Mississippi. They there came to anchor, and the boats were sent out on discovery. They arrived at a fine river, at whose entrance there was a bar which had only twelve feet of water. After several excursions in order to ascertain their situation, and many consultations where nothing was concluded, because it was sufficient for one of the commanders to explain

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his proposals, to have them opposed by the other; M. de la Sale, who conceived that he could not be far from the object of his search, and in attempting which the presence of M. de Beaujeu could only serve to impede him, resolved to disembark all his people at this place.

Having taken this resolution, on the 20th of February he sent an order to the commandant of the pink, to unload his vessel of every heavy article, and to enter into the river. He at the same time enjoined the commander of the *Belle* to embark in the pink, because he had not sufficient confidence in the person by whom she was then navigated; but her commander refused to receive the captain of the *Belle*. On this refusal M. de la Sale would have embarked himself; but a lieutenant of infantry and five or six other Frenchmen, having been carried off by the savages whilst they were walking in the woods, he hastened to disengage them.

He had not proceeded far from the sea shore, when casting his eyes towards that direction he perceived his pink manœuvring, as if she was upon the breakers; and his adverse fortune prevented him from returning to endeavour to remedy this untoward event. He continued his rout towards the village whither his people had been conducted, and on his arrival there heard the discharge of a cannon. From this he presaged

saged that his pink was on shore, and his conjecture was but too true. It was believed by many who were witnesses of this accident, that it was the effect of a premeditated design on the part of the *Sieur Aigrou*, who commanded the vessel.

Great as this loss doubtless appeared, the unhappy consequences resulting from it were yet more truly distressing. The provisions, utensils, tools, and, in general, all that is necessary for a new establishment, were contained in the pink. *M. de la Sale*, in whom the anxiety to recover his people had superseded the care of preventing a misfortune which he dreaded, hastened, on the accomplishment of his first intent, to the spot where the vessel was wrecked, and found every person in a state of inaction. He intreated *Beaujeu* to lend him his chaloup and boat: he began by conveying the people on shore, and afterwards the various stores. If the boat of the pink could have acted with that of the frigate, the whole cargo of the vessel might have been saved. But this had likewise been wrecked, and night having approached, it was necessary to wait until the following day to complete the discharge. The wind and waves having increased, the vessel was driven against rocks, by which she was broken, and a quantity of articles was thrown out at the openings, and floated to and fro on

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the waves. Several casks of wine, spirits, flour, and salt provisions were saved, but every thing besides was lost. The perplexity of their situation was increased by numbers of the savages who surrounded them, and notwithstanding every precaution which was used to prevent them from taking advantage of the general embarrassment, many things that had been saved from the wreck were carried off. This circumstance was not discovered until after the barbarians had escaped with their booty. Several canoes that had been left on the shore were taken possession of, in consequence of this act of theft: a feeble reprisal, for which they soon after paid very dear. The savages returned to bring away their canoes, came in the night to those who had possession of them, whom they found asleep, killed two volunteers whom La Sale much regretted, and wounded two more, but were unable to regain their canoes.

Such a series of unhappy events occurring at the same time, discouraged many who were engaged in this expedition, and among others M. Dainmaville and the Sieur Minet, engineer, who expressed a desire to return to France. To this dereliction of the service on which they were engaged, the enemies of M. de la Sale contributed in no small degree. They ceased not to throw discredit on his conduct, and to brand his enterprise

prize with epithets of folly and rashness. He however continued to evince the greatest resolution and firmness. He caused a magazine to be constructed, surrounded it with intrenchments, and there deposited every thing that had been saved. Persuaded that the river he had entered might be one of the branches of the Mississippi, he made dispositions for exploring it. He at the same time learnt that M. de Beaujeu was preparing to return to France, and entreated him to leave behind him the cannon and ammunition which he had embarked expressly for the service of M. de la Sale. Beaujeu replied, that they were in the hold of his vessel, and that in order to procure them every thing must be removed : that this operation would require more time than could be spared, in order to avoid the tempests usual at this season in those latitudes, and that he believed M. de la Sale was more reasonable than to wish that he should expose the frigate to the hazard of being lost. He however well knew that La Sale had on shore only eight small field-pieces, and not a single shot. It could not, besides, be conceived how he could have so embarrassed stores, which were destined for a new settlement.

Another proof of the unjustifiable conduct of this officer became evident. The perfidy of the commander of the pink was openly declared, and

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to skreen him from the justice of M. de la Sale, he was received into the frigate, with the whole crew of his vessel, and this, contrary to an express promise he had given to embark no person whatever without the full consent of M. de la Sale. The only resource which remained to the latter, was to make a representation to the minister, a satisfaction which could in no degree remedy the distressing condition to which he was reduced.

The frigate sailed about the middle of March, and the people on shore at the same time began to construct a fort. When the work was somewhat advanced, La Sale gave Joutel the charge of completing it, entrusted him with the command, and left with him a hundred and twenty men. La Sale with fifty men, who composed the remainder of his party, embarked on the river with a resolution to ascend as far as possible.

The savages came at night to ramble around the fort, and Joutel, who was ordered not to allow them to approach too near, caused some muskets to be discharged, in order to keep them at a distance. De la Sale, who heard the report, returned with six or seven men, and found every thing in quietness. He departed soon after to rejoin his party, and the first thing which he learnt on his arrival at his encampment was, that
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several of his workmen had suffered their tools to be stolen by the savages. As it was his intention to construct a second fort, he gave out other tools, but unhappily his workmen were not sufficiently acquainted with their use.

About the beginning of June an order was sent to the first fort, addressed to the commandant, to send an officer named Moranget to conduct to La Sale all the men which it contained, except thirty, who were left to Joutel and the Sieur le Gros, who had charge of the stores, as a guard. The chase and fishing afforded them abundant supplies, and the commandant maintained, with a dignified mildness, good order and quietude. This however did not prevent a conspiracy from being formed by two persons, whose dispositions inclined them to malevolence.

The intention was to put to death the commandant and the storekeeper, to rob the store of every thing valuable, and to make their escape. The day for the execution of this project was fixed; but one of the conspirators having imparted the circumstance to a third person, Joutel, who was immediately informed of it, had the criminals seized and put in irons. On the 14th of July he received a second order from La Sale to join him together with all his people, which he delayed not to obey, and delivered to him
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the two prisoners, with the proofs of their conspiracy.

These circumstances, which convinced La Sale of the bad choice that he had made of his colonists, gave him much inquietude. Joutel was surprised to find the fort in a state so little advanced. No building was yet covered, but a small magazine of stone, in which the gunpowder and liquors were deposited. They had planted and sown, but all had failed from the want of rain. They had subsisted on the animals killed in the chase. Many good subjects were dead. The number of invalids increased every day, and nothing could be more melancholy than the situation of La Sale. He was mortified by disappointment and adverse fortune, but the fortitude of his mind enabled him well to dissemble the uneasy sensations by which it was agitated. With a firmness, which was the leading principle of his character, but which often degenerated into obstinacy, he possessed to a supreme degree a talent for resource, and his industry made him find within himself whatever was deficient in others. As soon as all his people were assembled into one place, he proceeded with activity in his fortification. He became himself the architect, and as he assisted by manual operation, each laboured to the utmost of his power.

Nothing

Nothing more was wanted to encourage this favourable inclination; but La Sale could not command his ill temper. At a period when his people were exhausted with fatigue, and when he had scarcely a sufficiency of provisions to afford them, he had not power enough over his own mind to enable him to relax in some degree from his usual severity, nor from that inflexibility of spirit which is extremely unpropitious to the advancement of a new settlement. He punished with a species of cruelty the smallest faults, and scarcely did he let escape an expression of mildness, or consolation, for those who suffered with the most exemplary patience. Soon therefore had he the mortification to see all his people fall into a state of languor, which proceeded more from despair, and excess of fatigue, than from the want of nourishment, and which cut off a considerable part of his followers.

A circumstance which contributed to the perplexity of his situation was, that by the imprudence of some Frenchmen, the natives of the country called Clamcoëts declared themselves against them, and their favour could never be regained. M. la Sale, however, at length finished his fort, and gave it the name of St. Louis. As he could not divest himself of the idea, that the Mississippi discharged itself into the bay where he had first landed, and which he also called the bay

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of St. Louis; he resolved to coast it in his small vessel. He embarked in the month of October, leaving in his fort thirty-four persons, under the command of Joutel, whom he enjoined not to receive back any of the party that went out with him, unless a written order, signed by himself, should be delivered into his hand. He had lost, a short time before, the *Sieur le Gros*, who having been bit by a rattle-snake, and being ignorant of the remedy for this bite, which is found every where in the woods, was necessitated to undergo the amputation of his leg, and died shortly after the operation. This storekeeper was well acquainted with business, and was in many respects of great utility. He was one of those, for whose loss La Sale experienced the most lively regret.

After the departure of the vessel three months elapsed before any tidings of her were received at fort St. Louis. At length, towards the middle of January 1686, melancholy accounts of her were brought by a person named Duhaut, whose brother had remained in the fort. The elder who had followed La Sale, arrived without bringing any letter from him. He was alone in a canoe, and he was heard by the sentinel, towards the evening, calling out to his brother. The commandant was informed of it, and came to speak to Duhaut, and after being told that La Sale was in perfect health, he inquired if he had
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a written permission to return into the fort. Duhaut replied that he had not, but he related with such an appearance of sincerity the cause of his return, that Joutel conceived he might in this instance dispense with the written order, and permitted him to enter the fort.

He made the following recital of his adventures. M. de la Sale, said he, having arrived within sight of the vessel, sent on board of her five of his best men, and enjoined them to give his directions to the pilot to sound the anchoring ground, in a canoe. The pilot obeyed, and employed a whole day in this service. In the evening, finding himself fatigued, he went ashore with those who had brought the order, and there they kindled a fire. Sleep at length stole upon them before they had settled any precaution against the savages, who, ascertaining from the fire the spot where the French were, approached during the night, massacred the six men who were in profound sleep, and broke in pieces their canoe.

La Sale finding that they returned not at the appointed time, went himself in search of them, and found the sad remains of their carcasses, which the wolves or other beasts of prey had almost entirely devoured. He lamented above all the loss of his pilot, the person of whose aid he stood most in need, and a circumstance soon after

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after took place, which caused this privation to be yet more severely felt. He made the vessel to advance higher up in the bay, sent on board all things necessary for the enterprise which he meditated, and gave orders that the vessel should not go out of sight of the coast, and that none of the crew should come on shore.

He embarked with twenty men in two canoes to traverse the bay; when he arrived on the opposite side, he sunk his two canoes in the water, and continued his course by land. After several days' journey he found himself on the borders of a fine river, which he named La Maligne: in proceeding further, Duhaut having stopped behind the others, lost himself in the woods, and afterwards arrived, by what means he could not tell, opposite to fort St. Louis. As there was nothing in this recital which had not an air of verisimilitude, Joutel could not resist giving credit to it, and contented himself with preserving a strict observation over the actions of Duhaut.

Towards the middle of March De la Sale arrived, with Cavalier his brother, Maranget his nephew, and five or six men, in very distressing circumstances, at fort St. Louis. Others of his party had been sent in search of the vessel, concerning whose fate he was anxious. Although La Sale had failed with respect to the object of
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his pursuit, he appeared however satisfied with his journey, asserting that he had travelled over a very fine country. This afforded him no advancement towards the accomplishment of his purpose, but he comprehended the necessity of not discouraging his people, and he was a great master in the art of concealing disappointment. The sight of Duhaut, who he thought had deserted, afforded him some uneasiness, and he asked of Joutel why he had received him, contrary to his orders. Upon being told the reason he appeared satisfied.

Next day, the party who had been sent in search of the vessel returned to the fort, but brought no intelligence of her. By this he was thrown into great perplexity, because he had left on board his linen, his clothes, papers, and most valuable effects. Besides, his design was to have used this vessel in ascending some of the rivers which he had discovered, to send her to the islands in search of supplies, and likewise to range in her along the whole coast of the Gulph of Mexico, until he should find the Mississippi, after he should have lost every hope of entering it by some of the rivers which discharged themselves into the bay.

He nevertheless took his measures with his usual confidence and hope, and, towards the end of April, he set out on a new journey. Some

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days after his departure, M. de Chefdeville, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and some others of those who had remained on board the Belle, arrived at St. Louis in a canoe, with the clothes, a part of the papers, and linen of La Sale, and also some provisions, and with accounts of the total loss of the vessel. They recounted the circumstances of this unfortunate event, which deprived M. de la Sale of his principal reliance, after such a repetition of disasters. Their relation of this accident was as follows: The crew being in want of fresh water, the Sieur Planterose went himself to procure a supply in one of the nearest rivers. As he was returning on board with the people who had accompanied him, contrary winds and the obscurity of night overtook them. They who were in the vessel, and had seen the efforts that were made to return, lighted a fire to serve them as a guide; but neither the boat nor any of those who were in her ever afterwards appeared. For some days they awaited with fruitless expectation their arrival on board the vessel. At length the crew, pressed by extreme thirst, wished to approach a habitation on the coast, which was about two leagues distant from the river, but the feeble state to which they were reduced, and, it may perhaps be added, their want of skill, prevented them from working the vessel with effect; the wind also becoming unfavourable,

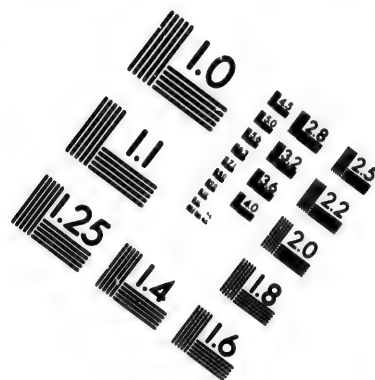
favourable, she was thrown ashore on the opposite side of the bay, and was there wrecked.

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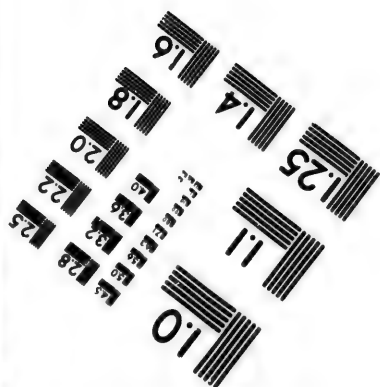
These unfortunate men, thus cast away on a savage coast, and having no longer any boat, could find no other means to extricate themselves but by constructing a raft in order to cross the bay; but it was so badly fabricated, that the first who ventured upon it were drowned. The remainder of the crew built a second raft, which was of more solid form; they placed upon it all the goods which they could save from the vessel, and safely accomplished their object. They remained for some time upon the shore, in great embarrassment, because they dared not, on account of the savages, hazard the performance of the remaining part of the journey by land, and their raft was incapable of being conducted up the river. At length they found an old canoe, which they repaired, and in which they arrived at St. Louis.

Two months had passed without any accounts having been brought of M. de la Sale. This long absence was not the sole cause of the inquietude of the commandant. He perceived with the most painful sensations his colony diminishing every day. Maladies cut off the most worthy of his people, the savages massacred those who ventured abroad on the chase; some deserted, were not ashamed to take refuge among these





Resolution test chart showing patterns of vertical and horizontal lines with numerical values ranging from 1.0 to 4.0.



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barbarians, and to adopt their mode of life. Many began to murmur with discontent, and from murmuring proceeded to the most odious conspiracies. The elder Duhaut placed himself at the head of the malcontents, and Joutel was informed that he aimed at nothing less than becoming chief of the society.

It however appeared that this unhappy person had not yet formed the detestable purpose, which he afterwards executed. It is only by a gradual progress, that the human mind attains the highest pitch of iniquity, and the motives by which Duhaut was actuated had not yet acquired a sufficient degree of force to urge him to the commission of parricide. Certain it is, that from the menaces of the commandant he remained quiet until the return of La Sale, who, in the month of August regained fort St. Louis. He there received the accounts of the loss of his vessel, with a tranquillity of mind which was still more to be admired, because he had on his journey himself sustained many losses which there were no means of replacing.

He had penetrated into the country of the Ceniz, with whom he formed an alliance, and he extolled the beauty and exuberance of the lands he had traversed. But he had acquired no further knowledge of what he had in view, and the whole profit of his voyage extended only to five horses

horses loaded with some provisions, with which his new allies had presented him. Of twenty men who had accompanied him only eight returned. He inquired on his arrival if the young Duhaut and four others had returned, in consequence of permission which he had given them, but found that none of them had appeared. Another person had gone astray on the road and was lost. One of his servants had been devoured by a crocodile, and the others had deserted him whilst he was among the Cenis.

Such a series of losses made painful impressions on all who remained at St. Louis. M. de la Sale proposed another expedition, but as the heats were then excessive, he thought fit to defer it until the month of October. The neighbouring savages incessantly harrassed him, and killed two of his men almost before his eyes. This confirmed him in a resolution he had already formed of removing from these barbarians. His design was to endeavour to reach the Illinois, and from thence to send M. Cavalier to France. He was upon the point of preparing for his journey, when he was seized with a violent malady which obliged him to put off his departure. Joutel, seeing him in this situation, made an offer to perform the voyage, with five men, which was not accepted. Towards the end of December he had recovered from his illness, and made dispositions

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positions for his route. He was pleased that Joutel should accompany him, and he gave the command of the fort to a person named Le Barbier. He had strengthened this settlement since his return from the Cenis, and he flattered himself that it was now in condition to defy the insults of the savages. He left a sufficient quantity of provisions for the people who remained in it, who amounted to twenty persons, among whom were seven females, two recollets, M. de Chefdeville, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and a surgeon.

After having communicated his last instructions, he began his journey on the 12th of January 1687, with sixteen men, comprehending M. Cavelier, Moranget, the young Cavelier, Father Anastase, Joutel, Duhaut, Larchevêque, De Marle, a German of Wirtemberg named Hiens, a surgeon named Liotot, the pilot Taffier, the young Talon, the servant of La Sale whose name was Saget, and a savage, an excellent huntsman. To ease the travellers, M. de la Sale had loaded with the greater part of the baggage and provisions the five horses he had brought from Cenis.

Although they held their course through a very fine country, they suffered much inconvenience from the rains which had swelled almost all the rivers. Savages were often seen, but M.
de

de la Sale conciliated the whole of them by his address; he always however continued on his guard, and encamped with great precautions. The difficulty of crossing the rivers increased, on account of their magnitude, and their not being fordable. Necessity suggested to him the construction of a canoe to be carried on poles, which he found of great utility. In proportion as they advanced into the country they found it more populous, and when they were not farther distant from the Ceniz than forty leagues, they learnt that one of their countrymen was in the neighbourhood. On the 17th of May, Moranget being upon a hunting party, and having had a quarrel with Duhaut, Hiens, and the surgeon Liotot, these three men formed a plan of murdering him, the servant of M. de la Sale, and the savage huntsman named Nica, who accompanied Moranget, and probably would have risked their lives in his defence.

They communicated their design to Larchevêque, and to the pilot Tessier, who approved of it, and were inclined to take a part in its execution. They mentioned not their intention to the Sieur de Marle, who was with them, and whom they wished not to be present. On the following night, while the three unhappy victims of their vengeance slept in tranquillity, Liotot struck them on the head with repeated blows of a hatchet.

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hatchet. The savage and the servant immediately expired. Moranget raised himself, but without being able to utter a word, and the assassins constrained the *Sieur de Marle* to complete his death, by menacing him, that if he refused he should share a similar fate. Their intention was to render him an accomplice in their horrid crime, to be assured that he would not accuse them.

As however it seldom occurs, that a first transgression is not followed by those galling inquietudes, which even they who have gained the pinnacle of iniquity find it difficult to tranquilize, the murderers comprehended, that it would be no easy task to evade the punishment which *M. de la Sale*, on the event of a discovery, would not fail to inflict. They therefore resolved on the means of defeating it. After having deliberated together on the probable plans of succeeding, they conceived that the most effectual would be to prevent him, by destroying all those who might oppose their design, and to open the way to the parricide which they meditated.

A resolution so extraordinary could only have been dictated by that blind despair, which conducts criminals with celerity to the abyss which they themselves have dug : but an accident which they could not foresee delivered into their hands the prey of which they were in search. A river
which

which separated them from the camp, and which had considerably swelled since they had passed it, detained them for two days. This delay, which at that time appeared to them an obstacle to the execution of their project, tended to facilitate its success. M. de la Sale not finding his nephew nor the two men who accompanied him return, went himself in quest of them. It was remarked that at the moment he was setting out he appeared to discover symptoms of uneasiness, and enquired with an emotion which he had never before betrayed, if Moranget had not had a quarrel with some person.

He then called Joutel, entrusted him with the command of the camp, recommended to him to walk around it from time to time, to permit no person to leave it, and to alight fires that the smoke might serve to bring him into his way, should he wander on his return. He departed on the 20th, taking with him father Anastase and a savage. As he approached the place where the assassins had stopped, he perceived eagles soaring near it, and concluded from thence that some dead carcases lay in the vicinity. He immediately fired his fusil, and the conspirators, who had not yet perceived him, doubted whether it might be he who approached, and stood to their arms.

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The river intervened between him and them. Duhaut and Larchevêque passed it, and having discovered M. de la Sale slowly coming up, they made a halt. Duhaut concealed himself in the long grass, having his fusil charged and cocked; Larchevêque advanced a little further, and M. de la Sale said with anxiety, "Where is my nephew Moranget?" He was answered, that he had strayed, and they had lost him. At the same instant Duhaut discharged his piece, and M. de la Sale receiving the contents in his head, fell lifeless to the ground.

Such was the tragical death of Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Sale, a man of uncommon genius, of an enlarged mind, of an undaunted intrepidity of spirit, which might have conducted him to high distinction, had he, with so many enviable qualities, possessed the power of commanding his irritable and saturnine temper, of setting bounds to his severity, or rather to the harshness of his disposition, and of repressing the haughtiness with which he treated not only those who were entirely dependent on him, but likewise his associates, who had advanced considerable sums towards the equipment of his enterprise.

He was reproached, with some degree of justice, for never having taken the advice of any person,

person, and for more than once having ruined his own affairs by an inflexible obstinacy which nothing could either conquer or justify.

By rejecting all advice from others, he sometimes, doubtless, lost opportunities of success, as the greatest men are often indebted for the favourable attainment of their objects, to persons of inferior merit; and the most fortunate are generally they who can profit by hints from others, perhaps far unequal to themselves in capacity and acquirements.

In the mean time father Anastase having seen M. de la Sale fall at his feet, expected that the murderers would not shew him any mercy, and would immediately cut him off to prevent his becoming an evidence against them. But Duhaute approaching him, gave him assurance of safety, telling him that the deed which he had committed was prompted by the influence of despair, and that for a long time he had meditated revenge against Moranget, who once wished to ruin him. His accomplices interrupted his conversation with the recollet, in an instant despoiled the dead body of La Sale, taking even the shirt, and, after having insulted it in a manner the most indignant, they dragged it into the brushwood, where it was left without the honours of sepulture. The assassins, after having thus completed their parricide, took their way to the camp, where they

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they had already sent the produce of their chase by savages who were witnesses to what passed, and could not refrain from testifying marks of abhorrence at the scene of slaughter.

M. Cavelier having learnt the fate of his unhappy brother, immediately told the conspirators, that if their design was to destroy him also, he would pardon them in advance, and the only favour he required was, to be allowed a quarter of an hour in order to dispose himself for death. They replied that he had nothing to fear, and that no person had taken offence at his conduct. Joutel was not then at the camp : Larchevêque, who was his friend, went in search of him, to acquaint him that his death was resolved on if he should shew any resentment at what had taken place, or if he pretended to resume the authority which M. de la Sale had given him ; but, if he remained quiet, he might be assured of his life.

Joutel, who was naturally of a mild disposition, replied, that they should be satisfied with his conduct ; he also believed that he had given no cause of offence whilst he held the command, and that he should now be happy to possess in it no share whatever. They then returned to the camp, and so soon as Duhaut perceived Joutel, he called out to him, that every one must command in his turn. He had already seized on authority, and the first use he made of it was to

take possession of every thing in the store: he then divided the contents with Larchevêque, asserting that they belonged to them. The paricides were in possession of strength, and their courage, by the practice of crimes, was hardened into unfeeling ferocity. They met with no opposition to their will.

Next day, the 20th of May, all the French, accompanied by some savages, began their march to proceed to the village of the Cenis, which was not far distant; but the weather being unfavourable, and the road difficult, they were soon obliged to encamp. On the 29th Joutel was detached with the surgeon Liotot, Hiens, and Teffier, to endeavour to procure some provisions from the Cenis. They discovered on the first day three savages well mounted, one of whom was habited like a Spaniard, and approached to meet them. He was then taken for a real Spaniard, especially as they had heard that people of that nation were coming to join the Cenis, against another nation with whom they were at war. As they were apprehensive of falling into the hands of the Castilians, who are not well inclined that other Europeans should come into their neighbourhood, their first intention was to kill him, and afterwards to make their escape.

Whilst the party was thus deliberating concerning what measure they should adopt, Joutel, who

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who had already joined him, addressed him in Spanish and Italian. The savage replied in the language of the Cenis, that he did not understand what was spoken, and this answer perfectly satisfied them. The two other savages were entirely naked; one had a handsome grey horse, which carried two baskets made of cane, full of flour and roasted Indian corn. He presented some to the French, and added that his master expected them with impatience. Joutel enquired if any Spaniards were amongst their countrymen, and was answered that none had come there, but that several of that people were amongst a neighbouring nation.

The savage who was in the Spanish dress added, that he had been in their country, and that he was returning from thence, equipped as they beheld him. He drew from his pocket a printed paper in the Castilian language, containing a list of indulgences granted by the Pope to the missionaries of New Mexico; after which he and his two companions pursued their route towards the village; they soon however altered their intention, and came back. The French presented them with food: night coming on after the repast, the Frenchmen wished not to proceed farther, and one of the three savages remained with them. The other two resumed the road to their village.

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The Frenchmen and their guest arrived there the next day, and immediately proceeded to the cabin of the chief; but scarcely had they appeared at the entrance of the village, when they perceived the Ancients, who were advancing with ceremony. Each had upon his shoulder a bandolou of dressed deer skin, painted with different colours, and on the head a plume of feathers made in the form of a coronet. Some carried naked swords, like those which are in use among the Spaniards, and their hilts were adorned with feathers and hawks' bills: others were armed with bows, arrows, and clubs. Part of their number had large pieces of white cloth which passed from one shoulder to the other, and hung down below their middle; every one had his face painted with red and black.

The Ancients amounted to twelve, and passed between a double line of young men and warriors, ranged in good order. When they were sufficiently near to the French, their leader made them halt, and immediately each raised his right hand above his head, sending forth at the same time loud cries: they afterwards ran to embrace the French, and lavished on them, according to their manner, every demonstration of kindness, presenting them also pipes and tobacco: at length they led forth a Frenchman of Provence, one of those who had deserted M. de la Sale on his first voyage

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voyage thither. He was naked like the savages, and appeared rejoiced again to see his countrymen.

They were conducted by the train already mentioned to the cabin of the chief, where they were well received. From thence they were led to another cabin of larger dimensions, about a quarter of a league distant from the first, and which was set apart for public festivity. They found the floor covered with mats, on which they were desired to seat themselves. The Ancients arranged themselves around them, and brought them sagamieté, or boiled Indian meal, and vegetables of various kinds. During the repast, and afterwards, whilst each smoked his pipe, they were entertained by some warlike exhibitions.

The Provençal dwelt in another village, to which he conducted the French, who were there received nearly in the same manner. Darkness approaching, their conductor led them to his cabin, where they passed the night. Next morning the Ancients of the first village came to lead them back to the cabin where they had been regaled the preceding evening, and exchanged provisions for their merchandise; but as sufficient grain was not found in the village to supply the wants of the French, Joutel sent back his companions, together with the Provençal, to the camp,

camp, and remained among the Cenis to complete his quantity of provisions.

Another motive besides engaged him to remain longer amongst these people. He learnt that there were two other Frenchmen, deserters from M. de la Sale, in a neighbouring nation, and he hoped to draw from them more information than he had acquired from the Provençal respecting the Mississippi and its course, which it was necessary he should take to reach the Illinois. He therefore caused search to be made for these two men, and one night, when he was at rest in his cabin, but had not fallen quite asleep, he heard a person approach gently to his bed side; he looked at him, and by the light of the fire perceived a man quite naked, holding in his hand two arrows and a bow, who without speaking seated himself on the bed.

Having viewed him for a time, he asked him some questions, to which he received no answer. This silence made him reflect seriously, and lay hold of his two pistols. On this the man raised himself, and seated himself near the fire. Joutel followed him, regarding him with fixed attention, and presently the pretended savage threw his arms around his neck, spoke to him in the French language, and made himself known as one of the deserters of whom he was in quest.

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On being asked where his companion was, he made answer that he was afraid to come.

They had in a little time so well adopted the manners of the savages, that they could never have been taken for Europeans: not only were they naked, but they had their whole body painted and tatoed. They were married to several wives. The Cenis had led them forth to war, and whilst their ammunition lasted the effect of their fusils was admired; but when it failed, they were obliged to use the bow and arrow. They led a life of libertinism, in which they found great attractions, and scarcely any tincture of religion remained to them. Joutel informed his countryman of the death of M. de la Sale, and of his nephew Moranget, at which he appeared extremely affected. He then asked him if he ever had heard mention made of the Mississippi, and was answered, that he had only heard that at forty leagues to the north-east there was a large river, whose banks were very populous, and where there were men of the appearance and dress of Europeans. Joutel doubted not that this was the river of which he was in search, and as he was resolved to separate, as soon as he could, from the murderers of M. de la Sale, it became a principal object of his attention to assure himself of the road which he must take to gain that great river. In the morning the deserter

deserter returned to his village, after Joutel had made him some trifling presents to bestow on his wives, and had requested him to persuade his companion to pay him a visit.

On the 6th of April they both arrived at the cabin of Joutel, equipped in the same manner, which appeared sufficiently whimsical; and consisted in wearing their hair very short, except a toupet, which the barbarians allow to remain on the summit of the head, and sometimes on the sides.

The other, named Grollet, confirmed what his companion had asserted on the subject of the great river towards the north-east, on the borders of which Europeans had been seen, and they both made offer to accompany Joutel to the camp. He was pleased with this resolution, and on the 8th, the two Frenchmen having returned to Genis with a horse, to transport the provisions which Joutel had purchased, they departed, and on the 10th arrived at their place of destination.

During the absence of Joutel, the murderers of M. de la Sale had formed themselves into a separate band, and had embraced the design of returning to Fort St. Louis, there to construct a barque, and to attempt to reach the West-India islands. They were in want of the greatest part of the utensils necessary for this purpose, and

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none amongst them had ever been accustomed to their use. But this was the first operation of that privation of reflection, which never fails to overtake those who have perpetrated crimes abhorrent to humanity. M. Cavelier having learnt that Duhaut and his accomplices intended to buy horses from the Cenis, to transport their baggage to St. Louis, went to acquaint him, that he and many others whom he named were too much fatigued to undertake the journey which was meditated: that their design was to remain for a certain time in the first village of the Cenis, and he begged him to allow them some hatchets and ammunition, with other articles to enable them to purchase provisions; and if he was inclined, he might set a value on them, and he would give him an obligation for the amount. Duhaut deferred until the morning his answer; and after having consulted with his band, acquainted M. Cavelier that he consented to allow him the half of the stores which remained in the magazine. He added, that if he and his party did not succeed in constructing a barque, they would return. A few days after he changed his resolution with respect to the journey to St. Louis, and proposed to his companions to rejoin M. Cavelier, in order to proceed to the Illinois. Hiens and some others were not of this opinion, and demanded their share of the stores. Duhaut made.

made some difficulties, and they quarrelled: at length Hiens discharged his pistol at Duhaut, who fell dead at the distance of four paces from him. At the same time one of the deserters, whom Joutel had brought back from the Cenis, and who was attached to Hiens, fired his fusil at the surgeon Liotot. This miserable man, although he had three balls in his body, lived for some hours, and, after he had made confession and received absolution, the same person completed his exit by the discharge of a pistol. Thus two murderers, the one of M. de la Sale, the other of his nephew, became the first victims of that spirit of fury with which they had inspired this unhappy colony.

Joutel, who had witnessed this massacre, seized his fusil to defend himself, lest they should also attempt to take away his life; but Hiens called out to him to be under no apprehension, and that his only design was to avenge the death of his patron. He added, that although he shared in the conspiracy with Duhaut, he by no means had consented to that act of parricide, and that, had he been present, he would have endeavoured to prevent it. The savages knew not what to think of these sanguinary proceedings, and regarded them with just abhorrence.

Joutel gave them to understand that these two men who had been killed merited that treat-

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ment which they had received, for having imbrued their hands in the blood of their chief, and for having seized by violence effects which did not belong to them. With these reasons they appeared satisfied. Larchevêque was not at the camp whilst this was going forward; he had set out on the morning of that day for the chase, and Hiens intended to treat him on his return in the same manner as he had done Duhaut; but M. Cavelier and Father Anastase succeeding in dissuading him from his intention, and Joutel finding means of acquainting Larchevêque of the danger to which he was subjected, he conducted him afterwards to Hiens, and they mutually promised not to give way to their animosities.

After this reconciliation, it became necessary to consult anew on the plan which was to be pursued; but Hiens declared that he had given a promise to the Cenis to accompany them to war, that he would accomplish his word, and if they would wait for him at one of the villages, he would afterwards rejoin them. It became for M. Cavelier, and for those who were attached to him, a matter of necessity to submit to what this outrageous character proposed, because a division of the stores had not yet taken place. They went therefore to the village of the Cenis, and Hiens departed from thence on a war expedition, together

together with the savages and six Frenchmen, all mounted on horseback.

On the 18th, the French who remained in the village were much surprised to see enter their cabins, early in the morning, women bedaubed all over with earth, who began a circular dance. This lasted for three hours, after which the master of the cabin gave to each of the dancers a piece of tobacco. They then informed the French, that the *Cenis* had gained a complete victory.

The women began to prepare refreshments to carry out to meet the victorious bands, who, on the evening of the same day, arrived at the village. Their enemies, named *Canobatinnos*, had waited for them with firmness, but the noise and effect of the fire-arms of the French had impressed them with such a panic, that they fled on the first discharge. They were pursued, and forty-eight were killed in the pursuit. The *Cenis* spared no prisoners except two boys, whom they brought to their village, together with the scalps of the dead, and two women whose lot was still more severe than death.

They sent back one to her country, but not before they had taken the scalp from her head : they put into her hands a quantity of powder and lead sufficient to charge a fusil, desiring her to carry this present to her nation, and to acquaint

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it, that they should return to visit it with similar arms. Her companion was delivered to persons of her own sex, who being armed with large pointed clubs, led her to a retired place, where there were only women. There each of these furies discharged at her a blow, some with the points of their clubs, others with swinging force. They pulled off her hair, cut off her fingers, in a word, they made her suffer every operation which they conceived would excite in her the most exquisite sensations of pain, to revenge the death of their friends and relations who had been killed in different rencontres. In fine, after they had exhausted every species of torment which their vindictive spirit could devise, they pierced her body with several wounds, until the remains of life escaped from it. It was then cut into pieces, and given to the slaves to be devoured.

The following day was set apart for festivity and rejoicings. After having prepared the cabin of the chief, they spread mats on the floor, on which they caused the Ancients and the French to sit. When each had taken his place, an orator stood up, and made a long discourse ; which particularly turned on the praises of the warriors, and on the great services which the new allies had rendered to the nations.

Afterwards

Afterwards appeared a woman, holding in her hand a long reed; the warriors, preceded by their wives, followed each according to his rank, having a bow and arrows in his hand. Their wives carried the scalps that had been acquired in the battle, and held them up conspicuously to view. The two young prisoners whom they had adopted closed the procession, and as one of them was wounded, they mounted him on a horse.

As the warriors passed the orator, they received the scalps from the hands of their wives, and presented them to him. He placed them between his hands, turned them towards the four quarters of the world, and deposited them on the ground. This part of the ceremony being finished, large dishes of sagamity were served up, and before they were touched by any person, the orator took some in a large wooden bowl, and presented as an offering to the scalps: he then lighted a pipe of tobacco, and blew the smoke of it on the same objects, after which the feast commenced. Besides sagamity, the tongues of their enemies killed in battle were served up. They brought to the two young prisoners the flesh of the woman whose sufferings have been mentioned, and forced them to eat of it. The whole terminated by singing and dancing, and they separated to recommence

Afterwards

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recommence in their respective cabins the latter part of the ceremony.

The French having now no longer any cause of detention among the *Cenis*, assembled to settle their final resolution. *Hiens* immediately began to declare, that he approved not of the project of going in search of the *Illinois*, in which he foresaw insurmountable difficulties; and besides, he would not return to France to carry thither his head to lay it on a scaffold. To this last reason there could be no reply; but as it was the only motive which in reality determined *Hiens* to embrace the desperate plan which he pursued, they who were not culpable persisted in the design of passing to the *Illinois*, and on the same day began to make serious dispositions for their departure.

The savages had much exaggerated to *Joutel* the dangers to which he should expose himself, in traversing so vast an extent of country, where he could not fail to meet with nations yet unknown to Europeans, and from some of whom he could not flatter himself with the hope of a kind reception. They omitted nothing to engage him and his people to remain among them. He solicited them to afford him guides, to whom he promised a handsome recompence. *Hiens* on his part supplied him with all that he required; but

Joutel

Joutel knew that he must not ask for much. **BOOK IX.**
This monster of villainy remained master of almost the whole of the effects of M. de la Sale, and already wore one of his coats of scarlet and embroidery. But before he would make the smallest partition of the stores, he exacted from M. Cavelier an attestation written in Latin, and signed with his hand, that he acquitted him of all suspicion of having been concerned in the murder of his brother.

Those who proceeded for the Illinois were seven in number, M. M. Cavelier, uncle, and nephew, Father Anastase, the Sieurs Joutel and De Marle, a young Parisian named Barthelemy, and the pilot Tessier. Larchevêque, Munier and Ruter, the two deserters, had promised to accompany them, but the attractions of libertinism detained them among the Cenis, and it was apparent that the same dread of punishment which had taken possession of the mind of Hiens, seized also that of Larchevêque, still more culpable than the former.

Joutel and his party, after a long and fatiguing march, arrived at the country of the Akaufas, the only unhappy event which had occurred being the loss of the Sieur le Marle, who was drowned whilst bathing in a river. Amongst the Akaufas, whom they reached on the 20th of July, they met with two Frenchmen, one named
9 Delaunay,

Delaunay, and the other Couture, by trade a carpenter.

It was a circumstance of unspeakable joy to the travellers, to find themselves so near to the Mississippi, and in a country where their nation was known. The two Frenchmen had been sent to the Akaufas by the Chevalier de Tonti, on his return from a voyage, which he himself had made to the mouth of the Mississippi, where M. de la Sale had directed him to rendezvous. They there had begun a habitation, and appeared to have formed the resolution of establishing themselves, no longer hoping to receive any further accounts of M. de la Sale.

M. Cavelier acquainted them with his melancholy death, but desired them not to make it known, because the name alone of the deceased had held these savages in respect, and he wished to procure from them provisions, canoes, and guides. He then requested Couture to go in search of some of their chiefs, and to inform them that M. de la Sale had formed a settlement in the Gulph of Mexico; that they who had brought those good news, were making a voyage to Canada to bring back merchandise; that they would shortly return with a number of Frenchmen to settle in their country, to defend them against their enemies, and to procure all the advantages of a well-regulated commerce; that they

they hoped to receive from them, in order to be enabled to reach the Illinois, the same aids that they had received from all the other nations through whose country they had passed.

The Akaufas assembled to deliberate on these proposals; in the mean time they regaled in the best manner in their power their new guests, and sung and danced the calumet. They however found some difficulties in allowing guides for so long a voyage; but by the incitement of promises and presents, they at length consented. The young Parisian, who could not walk, remained with the Akaufas, and Couture accompanied his countrymen for some time. They set out on the 27th, descended the river of the Akaufas, and gained, the same day, a village called Torimau, where they saw for the first time the Mississippi. They traversed it on the 29th, and gained the village of the Kappas, where Couture took his leave of them. They ascended the Mississippi in canoes on the 3d of September, entered the river of the Illinois, and on the 14th arrived at Fort St. Louis, where the Sieur de Bellefontaine commanded in the absence of the Chevalier Tonti, who had gone to join the Marquis de Denonville in the war against the Tsonnonthouans. Every person eagerly enquired after M. de la Sale, and it was answered that they had parted with him at forty leagues from the Genis. They did.

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did not think it prudent to give a further explanation, because they wished to pass on to Canada as quickly as possible, and they were in want of supplies to enable them to perform this voyage, which was become difficult and perilous since war had been declared against the Iroquois. They were afraid of being denied the necessary assistance, if they had made known the death of de la Sale.

Happily for them the *Sieur Boifrondet*, clerk of that unfortunate officer, was preparing to make the same voyage, and their meeting afforded much mutual satisfaction. They embarked on the 18th, but did not proceed far; the bad weather obliged them to return to the fort from whence they had departed. This misfortune disconcerted them the more, as it deprived them of all hope of returning to France the same year, and of sending supplies to such of their people as had remained at the habitation of St. Louis.

On the 27th of October, *M. de Tonti* arrived at Fort St. Louis of the Illinois. *M. Cavelier* conceived it prudent not to make known to him, more than to the others, the melancholy end of his brother, and as he had taken the precaution to procure from him, a little before his death, a letter of credit to receive at the Illinois a sum of money, or the value in furs, *Tonti* made no difficulty in delivering him a quantity of the latter, amounting

amounting to two hundred pounds sterling. The travellers left the Illinois on the 21st of March 1688, with Boifrontet, and Father Alouez, who not finding a favourable opening among the Illinois for the establishment of a mission, returned to the river St. Joseph, where he soon after died among the Miamis.

On the 10th of May they arrived at Michilimackinac, where they rested but for a short time, and on the 14th of July M. Cavelier reached Montreal, where his people, whom he had left at La Chine, joined him on the 17th. They there met M. M. Denonville and Champigny, whom they gave to understand, that they were obliged to pass over to France with all possible expedition, to send succours to M. de la Sale. They embarked for Quebec, and had not long to wait for a vessel; from thence they sailed, and landed at Rochelle on the 5th of October.

1688.

There is some ground for supposing, that if Cavelier and his party had not been constrained to winter at the Illinois, and had arrived a year earlier in France, measures might have been taken to reinforce, or to bring off the little colony which La Sale had formed at St. Louis amongst the Clamcoëts; but on their arrival at Paris it was conceived too late; and even had it been intended earlier, it would have been vain. The Clamcoëts were not long in being informed

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of the death of the French chief, and of the dispersion of his company; and at a time when the inhabitants of St. Louis least expected it, they fell upon them and massacred them, except the three sons of Talon, their sister, and a young Parisian called Bremau, whom they carried off to their village. An Italian who had come from Canada across the continent, to join M. de la Sale, and who doubtless would have been useful to him, in disclosing to him the route which he ought to have pursued in order to reach the Mississippi, if he could have arrived in time, saved also his life by a singular stratagem. While the savages were preparing to put him to death, he told them they were much to blame to destroy a person who carried their images in his heart. This discourse astonished the barbarians, and the Italian assured them, that, if they would give him until to-morrow, he would openly demonstrate the truth of what he advanced. He obtained that delay, and having adjusted a small mirror on his breast, he appeared before the savages, who were much surprised to view themselves, as they believed, in the heart of this man, and granted him his life.

On the other hand, the Spaniards of New Mexico, whom the enterprise of La Sale had much alarmed, were fully resolved to spare no means of ruining it. They sent five hundred men,

men, who arrived among the Cenís, and there found Larchevêque and Grollet, whom they made prisoners. They afterwards met with Munier and Talon, brother of those who had been spared by the Clamcoëts, and brought them to the village of Cenís, where they were well treated. There were among the Spaniards missionaries of St. Francis, whom they wished to settle among these savages. They conceived that the two Frenchmen, who understood perfectly well the language of the country, might be of great utility to these new missionaries, and they hoped by kindness to engage them to remain with these fathers.

Their obliging manners encouraged Talon to make known to them that he had three brothers and a sister, slaves among the Clamcoëts, and they forthwith sent a detachment in search of them. But this detachment could only bring off two of the Talons, their sister, and the Italian, whom the Clamcoëts, who had adopted them, would with the greatest difficulty release. The following year two hundred and fifty Spaniards returned to the same village, brought away the other Talon and Bremau, conducted them to St. Louis de Petofi, a city of New Mexico, and from thence to Mexico, with the remainder of their countrymen, where they were received into the family of the viceroy.

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Larchevêque and Grollet had been sent to Spain, from whence they were brought back to Mexico. They were there confined in prison until an opportunity offered to send them to New Mexico, to labour in the mines. The Italian was sent to Vera Cruz, where he was shut up in prison, from whence, it is probable, he was not removed until he was placed in the mines. It is not known what became of Bremau. Perhaps, on account of his youth, he was joined with the Talons: the probable reason why they experienced milder treatment than the others, was, that they were of an age not to enable them to have received any knowledge of the country; whereas their companions had attained their full vigour of mind and body, and if they escaped, might give to the French much information relative to what they had witnessed in their different travels.

At the end of eight years, the three elder Talons being of an age to carry arms, were enrolled on board the Armadilla, and embarked in Le Christo, the admiral's ship. This vessel was taken in 1696 by the Chevalier des Augiers, and the three brothers having then recovered their liberty, returned to France. It is from their information that an account of the latter circumstances herein mentioned was acquired. The viceroy of Mexico, who had detained with him

the younger brother and sister, having been relieved, brought both with him to Spain.

Such was the unfortunate issue of an enterprise, which a variety of adverse circumstances contributed to defeat.

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BOOK X.*

Voyage of M. de Iberville for the Discovery of the Mouth of the Mississippi by Sea in 1698-9.—Arrival at St. Domingo,—at Pensacola.—Explores one of the Branches of the Mouth of the Mississippi —Ascends to the Oumas.—Builds a Fort near the Paseagoulas, and returns to France.—Arrives again at the Biloxi.—Constructs a Fort on the East Side of one of the Branches of the Mississippi.—Ascends to the Natchez.—Establishes the Head Quarters of the Colony at the Biloxi.—The Illinois.—Various Nations bordering on the Mississippi visited by La Sale in his former Travels.—Manners and Customs of the Natchez.—Of the Illinois after their Conversion to the Christian Faith.

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OF all the parts of America to which the crown of France laid claim, none occupied for a time the attention of the government of that

* The calumet of peace, frequently mentioned in this book, and in use among the nations bordering on the Mississippi, is a large pipe formed from a species of soft marble, of a red, black, or white colour. The stalk is from four to five feet in length. The body of the calumet is eight inches in length; the head which contains the pipe is three in height, and one or two in diameter. The red calumets are in most general vogue and estimation. The savages use them in their negotiations, for political purposes,

that country so much as Louisiana, a name given by M. de la Sale to the new discoveries he made on the borders of the Mississippi. Since his unfortunate attempt to explore by sea the mouth of this river, it appeared that the plan for its prosecution was entirely laid aside. M. de Iberville, however, on his return from an expedition to Hudson's Bay, awoke, upon this point, the attention of the minister, and inspired the Count de Pontchartrain with the design of constructing a fort at the entrance of that great river, of which this officer undertook the discovery.

The minister, approving his project, caused to be fitted out at Rochefort two armed ships, *Le François* and *La Renommée*, the command of which he gave to the Marquis de Chateaumorand and to M. de Iberville, both captains of the marine. They set sail on the 7th of October 1698, and anchored at Cape François in Saint Domingo on the 11th of December. From

purposes, and especially on their journeys, being able to travel every where in safety whilst carrying this pipe in their hands. It is ornamented with feathers of various colours, and has with them the same effect that a flag of truce has among civilized nations. The savages would conceive themselves guilty of the greatest crime, and that they should even bring misfortunes on their nation, were they to violate the privileges which the presence of this venerable pipe is allowed to confer.

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thence they proceeded to Leogane, to converse with M. Duchasse, governor of the island, respecting the object of their destination. That officer was already well acquainted with the reputation which M. de Iberville had acquired, and found his genius and designs to correspond with his valour and skill in war.

On the last day of the year they sailed from St. Domingo, and on the 7th of January 1699 they perceived the land of Florida. They approached it as near as possible, without risking themselves on that unknown coast, and sent the *Sieur Lescalette* to bring a supply of wood and water, and at the same time to procure intelligence. This officer, on his return, informed them, that they were opposite to a bay called *Pensacola*, where three hundred Spaniards from *Vera Cruz* were come a little time before to form a settlement; and it was afterwards learnt, that the intention of this establishment was to prevent the French from occupying the country.

Lescalette had entered the harbour, and demanded of the Governor permission to procure wood and water; who, on being informed for whom it was wanted, said he would give an answer to the commanders of the ships. He accordingly sent his major on board to compliment M. M. *Chateaufort* and *de Iberville*: this officer at the same time put into their hands a letter

letter from the Governor, importing that the two vessels of the Most Christian King might freely supply themselves with wood and water, and take shelter, if necessary, wherever they might find it convenient: but that his instructions expressly prohibited him from receiving into the harbour any foreign ships; and that, in case of bad weather, they might enter into the bay, whither his pilots should conduct them. M. Chateaumorand wrote, in answer to this letter, that he despaired of finding any other place where the vessels might be in safety, and he was therefore necessitated to accept of his offer. M. de Iberville went out in his boat to sound, and found twenty fathoms of water to be the shallowest depth; but the Governor, on further reflection, desired them to go in search of another harbour.

On the 31st of January M. de Iberville, who took the leading course to explore the coast, anchored to the S. S. East of the eastern point of the Mobile, a large river parallel to the Mississippi, and celebrated for a bloody victory which Don Ferdinand de Soto there gained over the savages. On the second of February he landed on an island four leagues in circuit, which he named the Isle of Massacre, because he found the bones and skulls of sixty persons, with a quantity of culinary utensils in an entire state. From this island, to which was afterwards given

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the name of *Ile Dauphine*, he passed to the continent, and having discovered the river of the Pascagoulas, where he met with many savages, he proceeded with the *Sieur Sauvole*, *De Bienville*, a recollet, forty-eight men, and provisions for twenty days, with a design to find out the Mississippi, which the savages of that country distinguished by the name of *Malbouchia*, and the Spaniards by that of *La Pallifado*. He entered it on the 2d of March, with all his people, in two boats, and found the name which the Spaniards had given to it extremely applicable, because its mouth was full of trees, a continual supply of which was swept thither by the current.

After having explored this branch of its mouth, hitherto so long searched after, he went to impart his discovery to *M. de Chateaumorand*, who was advancing with every sail, and whose instructions being only to accompany *De Iberville* to this situation, departed in the *François*, and on the 20th of April directed his course for *St. Domingo*. Having made the necessary preparations, *De Iberville* re-entered the Mississippi, with a design to ascend that great river, and he had not proceeded far, when he found that little dependance was to be placed on the narrative which had been published under the name of the *Chevalier de Tonti*. On his arrival at the village of *Bayagoulas*,

goulas, the chief of these savages conducted him to a temple of the following description. The roof was adorned with figures of animals. There was at the entrance a sheet eight feet wide, by eleven in length, supported by pillars, with a beam placed across. On each side of the door were other figures of animals, such as bears and wolves, likewise of various birds. The chief caused the door to be opened, which was only three feet high, and two feet in width, and he entered first. This temple was a cabin, constructed like the other in the village, in the form of a cone, thirty feet in diameter: there were placed in the centre two logs of wood, which were burning, and produced a quantity of smoke. A kind of platform was raised a little way from the ground, on which were placed several packages of skins of deer, bears, and buffaloes, which had been presented as offerings to the chouchou-acha, or opossum: this animal is the deity of the Bayagoulas, and was delineated in several parts of the temple, in red and black. Its head is about the size of that of a young pig, its hair is brownish, its tail is like that of a rat, the feet like a monkey's, and the female has under the belly a bag, where she carries her young.

The village was composed of seven hundred cabins, each of which contained a family, and was lighted from the door, and from an opening

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ing of two feet in diameter made in the centre of the dome.

From thence De Iberville ascended to the Oumas, where he was cordially received. He still however entertained some doubts that the river which he navigated was the Mississippi, but a letter which he received from a savage chief relieved him from this inquietude. The letter was written by the Chevalier de Tonti, and bore the following address: "*M. de la Sale, Gouverneur de la Louysiane.*" It began thus: "From the village of Quinipissas, the 20th of April 1685. Having found the post where you placed the arms of the King, overturned by the swelling of the waters and the floating timber, I planted another, about three leagues distant from the sea, and have left a letter in the hollow of an adjoining tree. All the nations whom I visited have sung the calumet of peace. These people regard us with great veneration and awe, since you defeated the inhabitants of this village. I conclude by assuring you that I was much disappointed that we should have been obliged to return, having the misfortune not to have found you, after coasting in two canoes on the side of Mexico for thirty leagues, and for a distance of twenty leagues on the side of Florida."

De

De Iberville, re-assured by this letter, returned into the bay of the Biloxi, situated between the Mississippi and the Mobile, built a fort at three leagues from the Pascagoulas, left there M. de Sauvole to command it, and returned to France. He did not long remain there, and arrived at the Biloxi on the 8th of January. He then learnt, that towards the end of September last year an English corvette of twelve cannon had entered the Mississippi; that M. de Bienville, who had gone to sound the mouths of the river, had seen this vessel at twenty-five leagues distance from the sea, and had acquainted the commander, that if he would not return, he was in a situation to oblige him to that measure. This menace produced the desired effect; but the English commander, in withdrawing, said, that he would soon return with a greater force; that fifty years had elapsed since this country was first discovered by them, and that the claim of the English to its possession was preferable to that of the French.

De Iberville constructed a small fort, and placed there four pieces of cannon, giving the command to Bienville. This fort was situated at the mouth of the river, on the east side: whilst they were busied in erecting it, the Chevalier de Tonti arrived, with about twenty Canadians, who belonged to the establishment of the Illinois.

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After having finished his fort on the Mississippi, and ascended the river as high as the country of the Natchez, De Iberville formed the design of settling a colony in that part of the river, which he called *Rosalie*. He returned to the bay of the Biloxi, where he established the head quarters of his new colony. The Spaniards made no opposition to him, and the commandants of the two nations were apparently actuated by the same views, with this difference, that the one was usefully serving his sovereign, by amusing the French with commerce; and the other, whilst in expectation of being placed in a condition more effectually to serve his prince, believed in the mean time that nothing was neglected to promote that object.

The Governor of Pensacola declared to a French officer, when he went to demand permission to enter his port, that he had orders to prohibit the English and all trading companies from forming establishments in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi; but not to refuse to receive into his port vessels of the King of France. On this information M. de Iberville wrote to the minister, that it was the opinion of those who were best acquainted with the nature of that part of America, that Louisiana could never be settled, if freedom of commerce was not allowed to all the merchants of the kingdom.

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There were two objects which, at this period, formed the principal part of the commerce of Louisiana, wool, which was procured from the wild cattle of the country, and the pearl fishery. The instructions of De Iberville therefore pointed out, that such were the chief advantages which his discoveries would procure.

The King had also adopted measures for sending missionaries to the different tribes of savages, who inhabited the banks of the Mississippi, and whose numbers were at that period very considerable. Fathers Dongé and Du Ru, Jesuits, came from France, and Father De Linoges from Canada; but, the Bishop of Quebec, whose diocese is the most extensive in the habitable world, exacted from them conditions with which they were dissatisfied. M. de Montigny, and two other ecclesiastics for foreign missions, had gone from Quebec to Louisiana, invested with all the sacerdotal powers of the prelate. The Jesuits believed that these priests were not disposed to act in concert with them, and received an order from their superior to withdraw.

Other missionaries of their order had for a long time maintained a flourishing church among the Illinois, who were not at that period, as they afterwards were, in the government of Louisiana, and they for many years continued to instruct that nation, in whom the Christian religion produced

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duced a change of manners and character, which it alone is capable of effecting. Before that period there were not, perhaps, throughout the whole extent of Canada, savages who possessed fewer good qualities, and a greater number of vices. They at all times shewed much mildness and docility; but they were cowardly, treacherous, deceitful, dishonest, brutal, without any principle of honour, unfaithful, interested, addicted to gluttony, and to a depravity of desire unknown to the other savages of Canada: they were likewise, therefore, despised by the other nations. They were not on that account less conceited, or less prejudiced in their own favour.

Allies of such a character could not do much honour to the French, nor render them any material services. They had, notwithstanding, none that were more faithful, and they were the only nation, except the Abinaquis, who never courted, to the prejudice of the French, a reconciliation with their enemies. They were sensible, it is certain, of the advantages of their assistance in defending them against their enemies, who seemed to have contemplated their ruin; and particularly against the Iroquois and Outagamis, who, by continually harrassing them, had in a great measure rendered them warlike, and from whom the former gained nothing by their expeditions

peditions but the acquirement of a portion of their vices.

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But, what chiefly contributed to attach the Illinois to the French interest, was the introduction of Christianity, which they ardently embraced; to which may be added, the firm and uniform conduct of the Chevalier de Tonti, and of the Sieurs de la Forêt and Dolietto. These three officers had long commanded in the country of the Illinois, and had the address to gain a great influence over that people.

When M. de la Sale, in his first voyage down the river Mississippi, came among the Illinois, he was informed that this people had been prejudiced against the French, and he found himself in the midst of their camp, which was on each side the river, at a place where the current carried the canoes with much greater rapidity than he wished; he therefore ordered his people to arm, and to range the canoes in front of the enemy, so that the whole breadth of the river was occupied. The Illinois, who had not yet discovered the little fleet ranged in order of battle, became alarmed when they descried it. Some took to their arms, others to flight, and great disorder and confusion seemed to take place among them. La Sale, who had a calmness of peace, would not produce it, that he might not appear apprehensive of the power of the

the savages. As they were sufficiently near to each other to converse, they demanded the name of the country to which the French belonged : on this information being immediately given them, they presented three calumets of peace, the French at the same time exhibiting that which was in their possession, and their terror changing to sudden joy, they conducted the French to their cabins, lavished on them a thousand caresses, and recalled their countrymen who had fled.

In the summer season they wore no covering whatever, except for the feet, on which they put shoes made of the skins of wild cattle, and in the winter they defend themselves against the cold, which in these regions is piercing, although of short duration, by skins which they dress and ornament with paintings. They are tall, strong, and robust in their persons, and expert in the use of the bow and arrow. They had not before seen fire arms, with some of which La Sale presented them.

It is the custom of the Illinois to conceal in pits, during winter, their Indian corn, in order to preserve it until the spring ; and they set out during that season to distant places, in search of wild cattle and beavers, carrying with them very little grain.

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The Taenfas inhabit the borders of a small lake formed by the river Mississippi. They have eight villages; the walls of their dwellings are made of earth mixed with straw, the roof is of canes, and fashioned into a dome ornamented after their mode of painting. They have beds and several other moveables, made of wood, as are also the embellishments of their temples, in which they inter their chiefs. Their cloaths consist of a white blanket, made of the bark of a tree, which they spin and weave. Their chief is absolute, and, without consulting any person, disposes of all according to his will. He and all his family are served by slaves, taken in battle. His food is placed in the open air, before his cabin, and he drinks out of a cup appropriated for his sole use. His wife and children are treated with the same deference, and all other Taenfas address them with ceremony and respect.

La Sale being at a small distance from the village, sent thither some of his people with presents, and the chief, not satisfied with returning a quantity of provisions, wished also to see La Sale; he dispatched a master of ceremonies with six other persons to clean the road over which that traveller was to pass, to prepare a place for his reception, and to cover it with a mat of canes, delicately worked. The chief, clothed in a white robe,

robe, and preceded by two men carrying large fans of white feathers, afterwards arrived. A third person carried a sheet of copper, and a round plate of the same metal, both highly polished. The chief, in this visit, preserved a demeanor extremely solemn and grave, but nevertheless full of confidence and marks of amity.

The whole of this country is adorned with palm-trees, with laurels of two species, with prune-trees, peach-trees, mulberry, apple, and pear-trees of various kinds. There are also nuts of five or six different qualities, some of which are of an extraordinary size.

The savages in general, who frequent the borders of the Mississippi, appear to be affable and docile. They cherish few sentiments of religion: ceremonies of a religious tendency are, however, observable amongst them: they preserve a particular veneration for the sun, whom they acknowledge as the creator and preserver of the universe. It is remarkable that their languages should have no affinity to each other, although no great distance intervenes between their nations. In order to preserve their independence, they suffer not their tongues to become common, and mutual interpreters, from one tribe to another, are always resident when they are in alliance. They differ widely from the savages of
Canada

Canada in their habitations, habiliments, manners, inclinations, and customs, and even in their outward appearance.

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The Taensas have extensive public places allotted for games and assemblies. They appear more cheerful and lively than the savages of the north. Their chief seems to possess an authority almost absolute, and no one presumes to pass between him and a flambeau of cane, which is kept burning in his house; his attendants go round it, with ceremony. He has officers who follow and serve him every where: he bestows rewards, and distributes presents according to his pleasure.

La Sale met with no nation acquainted with the use of fire-arms, nor even with tools of iron. They used knives and hatchets of stone. Among many, he found bracelets of pearl, but they had been pierced by means of fire.

In his travels, he met with a nation called Biscatronge, but whom he and his companions named Pleureux, because on the arrival of those Frenchmen they wept bitterly for a quarter of an hour. It is a practice among them, when they encounter travellers, to recal to mind their deceased relations, whom they believe to be on a long journey, and whose return they pretend to await.

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The Genis are a people very numerous, and occupy a very fertile territory. They are composed of different cantons extending for upwards of twenty leagues, having villages of from ten to twelve cabins, bearing each distinct names. The cabins are neat, being from twenty to thirty feet high, made like bee-hives. They plant trees in the earth which join at top, and which they cover with long grass. Their beds are elevated about three feet from the ground, the fire being placed in the centre of the cabin. Each cabin contains two families. They possessed a number of articles which unquestionably were procured from the Spaniards, such as dollars and other coin, silver spoons, lace of every description, cloaths, and horses. Among other things was found a printed paper, containing a bull from the Pope, exempting the Spaniards of Mexico from abstaining from the use of flesh at certain periods during summer. Horses are here common, and in great abundance.

The Spaniards are known to them only by means of their allies, the Chaumans, who are always at war with the former.

After having remained here for a few days to refresh his party, La Sale pursued his route to the Naffonis. These nations are allied with the two last, and possess nearly the same genius and character.

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The Kunvatinno are a people cruel to their enemies, whom they put alive into the cauldron, and devour.

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The chiefs and young men of the Cadodachos received the party with the calumet of peace, which they gave them to smoke, some holding their horses by the bridle, others carrying them in triumph, believing them to be spirits, and of a country not belonging to this world. The whole village assembled; the women, according to their custom, washing the hands and feet of the travellers with warm water; they afterwards placed them on an elevated seat, covered with a white mat. Feasting, dancing with the calumet, and other public rejoicings followed day and night. These people had never before seen Europeans, whom they had known only by name. They have, like the other nations through which the travellers passed, confused ideas of religion, and pay their adoration to the sun. Their dresses of ceremony are ornamented with two figures of that luminary, and with representations of cattle, stags, serpents, and other animals.

Among two nations called the Catminio and the Mentous, the travellers received the calumet of peace in their hands, with every demonstration, on the part of the natives, of joy and respect. The chief lodged them in his cabin, causing his family to remove, and regaled them for several

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days with every species of viands. A public festival was given, during which the calumet was danced for twenty-four hours, with songs made for the occasion, which the chief vociferated with all his force, considering them as people of the sun, who were come to defend him against his enemies by the bolts of their thunder.

This nation of the Natchez inhabited one of the finest climates, and one of the most fertile countries in the universe: they were the only people on that part of the continent who appeared to have a regular form of religion. Their mode of worship resembled in certain points that of the ancient Romans. They had a temple filled with idols, consisting of different figures of men and animals, for which they shewed the most profound veneration. The form of their temple resembled a large oven of earth, being a hundred feet in circumference: the entrance was by a small door of four feet in height and three in breadth: the edifice had not any window. The vault was covered with three rows of mats placed one upon the other to prevent the rain from spoiling the masonry. Above, and on the outside, were three wooden figures of eagles, painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door there was a kind of shed, with a second door, where the guardian of the temple was lodged: the whole was surrounded by a fence of palli-fades,

shades, on which were exposed the scalps of all the heads, which their warriors had brought from the various combats in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

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In the interior of the temple there were small shelves placed at a certain distance from each other, on which were set baskets of cane of an oval figure, containing the bones of their ancient chiefs; and beside these, those of the victims who caused themselves to be strangled, that they might follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf contained several baskets well painted, in which their idols were kept: these consisted of figures of men and women, made of stone and burnt clay; the heads and tails of uncommon serpents, stuffed owls, pieces of crystals, and jaws and teeth of large fish. They had, in 1699, a bottle and the foot of a wine glass, which they preserved as articles of great value.

They took care to maintain in this temple a perpetual fire, and great attention was bestowed to prevent its rising to a flame: for this purpose they used only dry and hard woods. The ancients were obliged to carry each in his turn a large junk of wood to the entrance, or to the pallisade. The number of guardians of the temple was fixed, and they served each three months. He who was on duty remained like a

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centinel in the shed, from whence he watched the fire; this was nourished by three large pieces of wood, whose inner extremities only were allowed to burn at the same time, and which, to avoid flaming, were never placed one upon the other.

Of all the females of the nation, the sisters of the great chief only were permitted to enter the temple: this privilege was with-held from all the others, as well as from the lower ranks of people, even when they brought food for the manes of their relations, whose bones reposed in the temple. The viands were given to the guardian, who carried them to the side of the basket where the bones of the dead were deposited: this ceremony endured but for a moon. The viands were afterwards placed on the pallisades of the court, and were abandoned to the wild animals and birds.

The sun was the principal object of veneration among that people, as they conceived that nothing can be superior to this luminary: nothing, likewise, appeared more worthy of their homage; and it was for this reason that the grand chief of the nation, who knew of no person upon earth superior to himself, assumed the quality of brother to the sun. The credulity of the people maintained him in the despotic authority with which he was invested. And in order to preserve

serve it, a mound of earth was raised, on which they built his cabin, of the same construction with the temple. The door was exposed to the east. Every morning the great chief honoured with his presence the rising of his elder brother, and as soon as he appeared above the horizon, saluted him by a repetition of howlings; he then gave orders that his pipe should be lighted, made him an offering of the three first mouthfuls of smoke which he drew, and raising his hands above his head, and turning at the same time from east to west, pointed out to him the route he was to pursue in his diurnal course.

There were in his cabin several beds on the left of the entrance, but on the right was the bed of the grand chief adorned with different painted figures. This bed consisted only of a pallias composed of canes and reeds, with a square piece of wood which served him as a pillow. In the centre of the cabin there was a small boundary: no person was allowed to approach the bed without making the circuit of that inclosure. They who entered saluted with a howl, and advanced to the extremity of the cabin, without casting their eyes towards the side where the grand chief was: they afterwards gave a fresh salute, by lifting the arms above the head, and howling three times. If they were persons whom the chief regarded, he answered by a faint sigh, and

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made them a sign to be seated : he was thanked for his attention by a new howl. At every question which the chief made, they howled once, before they returned an answer, and when they took leave of him, they drew out one continued howl until they retired from his presence.

When the grand chief died, his cabin was demolished, a new mound of earth was raised, and another cabin was erected for him who was to fill his dignity, who never lodged in that of his predecessor. The ancients were the legislators and judges for the rest of the people : one of the principal laws was to have a sovereign respect for the grand chief, as brother of the sun, and master of the temple. They believed in the immortality of the soul : when they quitted the present state of being, they went, they said, to inhabit another, there to receive recompense or punishment. The rewards which they promised themselves consisted principally in good living, and the chastisement, in the privation of every species of enjoyment. They thus believed, that such as were faithful observers of the laws, would be conducted to a region of delight, where all sorts of the most exquisite viands would be supplied them in abundance ; that their days would pass in pleasure and tranquillity, in the midst of feasts, of dances, and of women, and that they should taste of every pleasure imaginable. That on the contrary,

contrary, the transgressors of the laws would be cast upon lands unfertile and covered with water, which would produce no kind of grain, and that they should be exposed naked to the torturing bites of musquitoes: that all the nations should make war against them, and that they should never eat but of the flesh of crocodiles and of the worst species of fish.

These people implicitly obeyed the will of their chief: they regarded him as the absolute master, not only of their property but of their life, and not one among them dared to refuse his head, when he chose to demand it. For whatever labour he imposed upon them, it was forbidden them to require any recompense. The French, who often had occasion for hunters or rowers for their long voyages, addressed themselves to the grand chief alone. It was he who supplied all the men they wanted, and received payment without giving any part to those unhappy people, who had not even the privilege of complaining. One of the principal articles of their religion, particularly for the attendants of the grand chief, was to honour his obsequies by dying with him, that they might serve him in the next world. They blindly submitted with cheerfulness to this law, in the vain persuasion, that in the company of their chief they should enjoy the greatest happiness.

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To convey an idea of this sanguinary ceremony, it must be announced, that so soon as a presumptive heir to the grand chief was born, every family where there was an infant at the breast gave him the homage of that child. Out of these children, a certain number was chosen, destined to the service of the young prince, and when they became of a competent age, an employment was given them conformable to their capacities: some spent their lives in the chase, or in fishing, or for the service of his table; others were occupied in agriculture, others only as followers or attendants: when he died, all these servants sacrificed themselves with joy to follow their dear master. They on this occasion assumed their finest dress, and went together to the ground opposite the temple, where all the people of the village also assembled. After having danced and sung for a considerable time, they passed around their neck a cord with a running knot, and soon after the ministers destined for this kind of execution came to strangle them, recommending to them to rejoin their master, and to resume in the other world employments yet more honourable than those they exercised in the present.

The principal domestics of the grand chief having been strangled in this manner, their bones were stripped, and left to dry for two months in
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a kind of tomb; after which they were taken out, to be shut up in the baskets, and placed in the temple beside those of their master. The other servants who had been strangled were carried home by their relations, and interred with their arms and cloaths.

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The same ceremony was likewise observed, on the death of the brothers and sisters of the grand chief. Women were always strangled to follow them, provided they had not a child at the breast. There were however instances of their delivering their children to nurses, or of putting them to death themselves, that they might not forego the privilege of being sacrificed, according to the usual ceremonies ordained by the law.

The government was hereditary; but the sons of the reigning chief did not succeed their father; the sons of his sister, the first princess of the blood, were his declared successors. This policy was founded on the knowledge which they had of the libertinism of their wives. They were not certain, said they, that the children of their wives were of the blood royal; whereas the sons of the sister of the grand chief were at least so by the side of their mother.

The princesses of the blood never espoused men of an obscure family; they had only one husband, but they were at liberty to repudiate him whenever they pleased, and to make choice of

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BOOK X. of another among those of the nation, provided
1700. there was no alliance between them. If the husband was guilty of infidelity, the princess immediately caused him to be put to death: she was not subject to the same law, for she could enjoy as many lovers as she pleased, without the husband being suffered to complain. He conducted himself in the presence of his wife with the greatest respect; he did not eat with her; he saluted her by howling, as was practised by her domestics. The only satisfaction he enjoyed was that of being exempt from labour, and of having authority over those who served the princess.

Formerly the nation of the Natchez was considerable; sixty villages were reckoned, and eight hundred sons or princes: in 1730 it was reduced to six small villages and eleven sons. In each of these villages there was a temple, where fire was continually kept up, as in that of the grand chief, whom all the other sons obeyed.

It was the grand chief who had the patronage of all the employments in his state, the principal of which were, the two chiefs of war, the two masters of ceremony for worship which was rendered in the temple, the two officers who presided at the other ceremonies which were observed when strangers came to treat for peace; four others,

others, whose charge it was to direct the feasts with which they publicly regaled the nation, and strangers who came to visit them; the officers who inspected public works. All these ministers who executed the will of the grand chief, were respected and obeyed, in the same manner as if their orders had been given by himself in person.

Every year the people assembled to sow an immense field with Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons. They came together in the same manner for the harvest. A large cabin situated in a beautiful meadow, was destined to contain the produce of the fields. Towards the end of July the people every year collected, by order of the grand chief, to assist at a great festival which he gave. This festival lasted three days and three nights; each contributed towards it whatever he could furnish; some brought game, others brought fish. The entertainment consisted of almost continual dancing; the grand chief and his sister were seated in a lodge, elevated and covered with foliage, from whence they contemplated the joy of their subjects: the princes, the princesses, and they who by their office were of distinguished rank, ranged themselves near the chief, to whom they marked their submission and respect by an infinity of ceremonies. The grand chief and his sister made their

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their entry into the place of the assembly on a litter carried by eight of the tallest men: the chief held in his hand a sceptre adorned with feathers; all the people danced and sung around him, in token of the public joy. On the last day of the festival he commanded all his subjects to approach him, and delivered to them a long harangue, in which he exhorted them to fulfil the duties of religion: he recommended them above all things to preserve a great veneration for the spirits who resided in the temple, and to give good instructions to their children. If any one had signalized himself by some zealous action, he gave him public praise. A circumstance of that nature took place in the year 1702. The thunder having fallen on the temple, and having reduced it to ashes, seven or eight women threw their infants into the flames to appease the wrath of heaven. The grand chief stiled these women heroines, and bestowed strong encomiums on them for the courage which had prompted them to make a sacrifice of that which was most dear to them: he concluded his panegyric by exhorting the other women to imitate, in any similar conjuncture, so brilliant an example.

The fathers of families failed not to carry to the temple the first of the fruits, consisting of grain and vegetables: there were also presents made to the nation; they were offered at the entrance

entrance of the temple, where the guardian, after having exposed them to view, and presented them to the spirits, carried them to the grand chief, who made a distribution of them as he thought fit, without the smallest dissatisfaction being shewn by any one.

No land was planted or sown, until the seed had been presented at the temple with the accustomed ceremonies. When these people approached the temple, they raised their arms out of respect, and sent forth three howlings, after which they rubbed their hands on the ground, raising themselves three times, with as many reiterated howlings. When they only passed the temple, they merely stopped to salute it with downcast eyes, and lifted up arms. If a father or a mother perceived that their children neglected the observance of this ceremony, they punished them immediately with some blows with a cudgel.

Such were the ceremonies of the Natchez with respect to religion. Those of their marriages were very simple. When a young man had resolved to marry, he addressed himself to the father of the girl; or should he no longer have existed, to her elder brother: the terms were agreed on, and paid in furs, or merchandise. Although a girl may have led a life far from virtuous, no objection was made to her on that

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account, as it was the custom for females of that description to change their conduct on being married. The choice is made indifferently from any family, provided the girl is agreeable to her intended husband. The only attention on the part of her relations, is to inquire whether the man who demanded her in marriage was successful in the chase, a good warrior, or a skilful husbandman. Either of these qualities diminished the sum which was exacted from him previous to his marriage.

When the parties were agreed, the future husband went to the chase with his friends, and when he procured, either in game or in fish, a sufficient quantity to regale the two families who contracted the alliance, they assembled in the cabin of the relations of the bride: the newly married couple were served separately from the rest, and they eat out of the same dish. The repast being finished, the bridegroom presented tobacco to the relations of his wife, and then to his own, and after the company had smoked, they retired. The new-married couple remained together until the morning, when the husband conducted his wife to her father-in-law, in whose cabin she lodged until the family had built them a new cabin. During the time of its construction he passed the whole day in the chase, to supply food to those employed on it.

The laws of the Natchez permitted them to have as many wives as they chose: those, however, of the lower orders seldom had more than one or two. The chiefs had a plurality of wives, because having the privilege of getting their lands cultivated by the people, without any payment, the number of their wives was not burdensome.

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The marriage of these chiefs was performed with less ceremony than that of the lower class; they were satisfied with sending for the father of the girl of whom they had made choice, and declaring to him that they placed her in the rank of their wives. The marriage was then concluded, and they made a present to the father and mother. Although they had several wives, they kept only one or two at a time in their cabin; the others remained with their parents, where they had access to them when they thought proper.

There are certain seasons of the moon, when the savages do not visit their wives. Jealousy enters so faintly into their breasts, that many find no difficulty in lending their wives to their friends. This indifference in the conjugal union arises from the liberty which they have of changing when they please, provided their wives have had no children by them; for if there are any

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born in the marriage, nothing but death can separate them.

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When this nation formed a detachment for war, the chief of the party planted two poles painted red, adorned with red feathers from top to bottom, and with arrows and clubs. They who wished to engage in the party, after having decked and painted themselves with various colours, came to harangue the chief of war. This harangue, which they delivered one after the other, and which lasted nearly half an hour, consisted in a thousand protestations of service, by which they assured him that they wished for no greater happiness than to die with him. That they were satisfied to learn, under so expert a warrior, the art of scalping, and that they feared neither the hunger nor fatigues to which they should be exposed.

On a sufficient number of warriors having presented themselves to the war chief, he caused to be prepared in his cabin a drink which was called the medicine of war. This was a vomitive, composed of a root boiled in kettles full of water. The warriors, sometimes to the number of three hundred men, having seated themselves around the kettle, to each was served about a gallon; the ceremony was to swallow it at one draught, and to render it again by the mouth with efforts
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so violent, that they might have been heard at a great distance. After this ceremony the chief of war fixed the day for their departure, that each might make a provision necessary for the campaign. During this time, the warriors appeared every morning and evening in the place of arms, where after having danced, and recounted in detail the brilliant actions in which their bravery had been displayed, they sung their songs of death.

To have beheld the excessive joy which they shewed on their departure, it might have been conceived that they had already signalized their valour by some great victory; but very little is necessary to disconcert the projects of savages. They are so superstitious with regard to dreams, that nothing more is wanted than one of unfavourable omen to stop the execution of their enterprise, and oblige them to return when they are on a march.

It often happens that parties who have gone through all the ceremonies which have been mentioned, break off suddenly from their voyage, because they have heard a dog bark in an extraordinary manner: their ardour for glory is then converted into fear.

In their war expeditions, they march always in files; four or five of their best walkers take the lead, and advance about a quarter of a league

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before the army, to observe, and give notice of any thing they see. They encamp every evening an hour before sun-set, and laying themselves around a great fire, each places his arms near him. Before encamping, they take care to send twenty or more warriors half a league round the environs of the camp to avoid all surprize. They never place a centinel during the night; but as soon as they have supped, they extinguish the fire. The chiefs of war recommend to them on the evening not to deliver themselves up to a profound sleep, and always to have their arms in readiness. A rendezvous is always previously settled, in case they should be attacked in the night, and dispersed.

As the chiefs of the Natchez always carried with them their idols, or what they termed their spirits, well wrapped up in a hide; they suspended them on the evening to a small rod painted red, and planted in a sloping direction, so that it might incline towards the side of the enemy. The warriors, before they laid themselves down to rest, passed with the war club in their hand, one after the other, dancing before these pretended spirits, and denouncing great vengeance towards the quarter where they supposed their enemies to be encamped.

When the war party was numerous, and when it entered upon the territory of the enemy, the savages

savages marched in five or six columns, and sent out several spies to reconnoitre. If they perceived that their march was discovered, they usually adopted the resolution of returning, and detached a small body of ten or twelve men, who separated, with the hope of surprising some detached hunters of the enemy. On their return they sung and recounted the number of scalps which they had taken off. If they made any prisoners, they obliged them to sing and dance for several successive days before the temple, after which they were presented to the relations of those who had been slain in the war. During this ceremony the relations melted into tears, and dried them with the scalps which had been brought home: they then settled the recompence for the warriors who had brought these slaves, whose lot it was to be burnt.

The Natchez, as well as all the other nations of Louisiana, distinguished by particular names those who had killed more or less of the enemy. These names were conferred by the ancient chiefs, according to the merits of the warriors. To deserve the title of Great Slayer of Men, it was required that the person should have made ten prisoners, or have carried off twenty scalps. In their language, the name of the warrior announced all his exploits. They who for the first time carried off a scalp, or made a slave, did not,

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on their return, cohabit with their wives, or eat any meat; they only lived on fish and corn. This abstinence lasted for six months. If they failed in its observance, they imagined that the ghost of him whom they had slain would cause them to die by sorcery; that they should never gain any advantage over an enemy, and that the slightest wound which they should receive would prove mortal.

They took great care that the grand chief should not be in danger of losing his life when he went to war. If his courage led him to expose himself, and if he fell in battle, the chiefs of the party, and the other principal warriors were put to death on their return: but these executions were almost without example, by the precautions which they took to preserve him from this misfortune.

The Natchez had, like the other savages, their doctors, or jugglers; these were generally old men, who, without study, and without any science, undertook to cure every species of malady: for this end they made use neither of simples nor drugs; their art consisted wholly in various ceremonies and deceptions: they danced and sung by night or by day around the sick person, and they smoked incessantly, swallowing the fumes of the tobacco. These jugglers did not eat during the whole time they were engaged in the cure

cure of their patients. Their songs and dances were accompanied by such violent contorsions, that although they were naked, and ought to have suffered from cold, their mouth was always foaming. They had a small basket, in which they kept what they called their spirits or *manitous*; these consisted of small roots of different kinds, of heads of owls, of small packets of deer's hair, some teeth of animals, small pebbles, and other similar trifles.

It appeared, that to restore health to their sick they incessantly invoked the contents of their basket. Some had a certain root, which by its odour renders snakes torpid and harmless. After having rubbed the hands and body with this root, they held these animals without being afraid of their bite, which is mortal. Others cut with a flint the afflicted part of the patient, and then sucked out all the blood they could draw from the wound, which they immediately put into a dish, spitting out at the same time a small piece of wood, of straw, or of leather, which they had concealed under their tongue; and, calling the attention of the relations of the sick, they said, behold the cause of the disease. These doctors always insisted on being paid in advance. If the diseased was recovered, their gains were considerable: but if he died, they were certain of being put to death by the friends or relations of the deceased.

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deceased. A ceremony in the observance of which they never failed, and the parents or relations of the quacks made no opposition to it, nor testified any mortification or concern.

There were some jugglers who even undertook to procure rain or fine weather : these were usually old or indolent persons, who unwilling to submit to the fatigues of the chase, of fishing, or of cultivating land, exercised this dangerous profession in order to maintain their family. Towards the spring, the people bought of these jugglers favourable weather for the productions of the earth. If the harvest was abundant, they reaped considerable gain ; but if it was bad, vengeance was taken, and their heads were broken. Those who engaged in this profession thus risked all for all. Their mode of life was extremely inactive ; they had no other trouble but to fast, and to dance with a reed in their mouth, full of water, and pierced like a watering-pan : with this they spouted water into the air, in the direction of the thickest clouds : they held in one hand the chichicoua, and in the other their spirits, which they presented to the clouds, sending forth the most frightful cries, to cause them to burst upon their fields. If fine weather was demanded, they made no use of their reeds, but they ascended the tops of their cabins, and with the arm made a signal to the clouds, blowing with
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all their force, not to stop upon their lands, but to pass beyond them. When the cloud dispersed as they wished, they danced and sung around their spirits, which they deposited on a kind of pillow; they redoubled their fast, and when the cloud was past they swallowed fumes of tobacco, and presented their pipes to heaven.

Although little favour or respect was shewn to these jugglers when they obtained not what was wished, the profit however was so great, when by chance they seemed to succeed, that a considerable number of savages feared not to incur the risk. They who undertook to procure rain, never engaged to bring fine weather. Another species of jugglers had this privilege; and when the reason was asked of them, they confidently replied that their spirits could not bestow both.

When one of the savages died, his relations assembled to deplore his death for a whole day; they afterwards covered the body with the best cloaths of the deceased; they painted his face and hair, which they adorned with the finest plumage, and afterwards conveyed him to the grave which was prepared for him, and in which they placed at his side his arms, or kettle and provisions. During the space of a month his relations came, at the dawn of day, and at sun-set to his grave, where they poured forth lamentations for the space of half an hour: every one
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named his degree of kindred. If it was the father of a family, the wife exclaimed, "My dear husband, how much do I regret your loss:" the children cried, "My dear father:" the others, "My uncle, my cousin," &c. They who were related in the nearest degree, continued this ceremony during three months: they cut off their hair in token of mourning; they ceased to paint their bodies, and attended no assembly of rejoicing.

When some foreign nation came to treat of peace with the Natchez, they sent couriers to give advice of the day and hour of the arrival of their ambassadors. The grand chief then gave orders to the masters of the ceremonies to make the necessary preparations for this great occasion. They began by naming those who were to entertain each day the strangers, for the chief never incurred this expence. They cleaned the roads; the cabins were swept; benches were arranged in a large hall which was on the rising ground, and beside the cabin of the grand chief. His seat, which was elevated above the rest, was adorned with feathers, and painted; the ground was covered with large mats.

On the day on which the ambassadors were to make their entry, all the nation assembled. The masters of the ceremony arranged the princes, the chiefs of the villages, and the ancient chiefs
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of family, near the grand chief, upon benches allotted for them. When the ambassadors arrived within the distance of five hundred yards from the grand chief, they stopped, and sung the song of peace. The embassy consisted usually of thirty men and six women. Six of the best proportioned, and having the strongest voices, marched in front; they were followed by the rest, who likewise sung, regulating the cadence by the *chichicoua*.

When the chief desired them to approach, they immediately advanced: they who had calumets sung and danced with much agility, turning around each other, and sometimes presenting themselves in front, but always with violent movements, and extraordinary contorsions. When they entered into the circle, they danced around the seat on which the chief was placed; they rubbed him with their calumets from the feet to the head, afterwards moving backwards until they rejoined those of their suite. They then filled one of their calumets with tobacco, and holding fire in one hand and the pipe in the other, they advanced together towards the grand chief, and gave him the pipe to smoke: they pushed the first mouthful to the sky, the second to the earth, and the others towards the horizon; after which they presented, without ceremony, the pipe to the princes and the other chiefs.

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The ambassadors, in token of alliance, came to rub their hands on the stomach of the chief, rubbing at the same time the whole of their own bodies, and placed their calumets before him on small forks stuck in the ground. The ambassador who was particularly charged with the instructions of his nation, delivered an harangue of an hour in length. When he had finished, a signal was made for the strangers to be seated on benches, arranged near the chief, who answered them by a speech of equal length. The master of the ceremony then lighted the great pipe of peace, and gave the strangers to smoke, who swallowed the fumes of the tobacco; they were afterwards conducted to the cabin set apart for them, where they were regaled.

In the evening at sun-set, the ambassadors with the pipe in their hand came singing, in search of the grand chief, and taking him upon their shoulders transported him to the place where their cabin stood. They spread upon the ground a large skin, on which they invited him to sit. One of them posted himself behind, and placing his hands on the shoulders of the chief, agitated his whole body, whilst the rest, sitting around on the earth, sung their warlike exploits. After this part of the ceremony, which was performed morning and evening during four days, the grand chief returned to his cabin. When he paid the
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last visit to the ambassadors, they planted a post, at the foot of which they sat. The warriors of the nation, arrayed in their best dress, danced around the post, striking it at intervals, and recounting one after another their deeds of valour. They then made to the ambassadors presents, consisting of kettles, hatchets, fusils, powder and lead shot.

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The day following this last exhibition, it was permitted to the ambassadors to walk through the village, an indulgence which was not before granted: they were every night entertained with dancing: the men and women in their best attire assembled in the square, and danced until late in the night. When they were ready to return, the masters of ceremony supplied them with the necessary provisions for the journey.

The Illinois are situated in 38 degrees 15 minutes of latitude. The climate is very different from that of New Orleans, and resembles somewhat that of France; the great heats are there felt sooner and more powerfully, but they are neither constant nor durable. The colds arrive later. In winter when the north winds blow, the Mississippi becomes frozen, so as to bear loaded carriages, but these colds are not lasting. The winter is here an alternative of piercing cold and mild weather, according to the prevalence of the north and south winds, which regularly succeed

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ceed each other. This sudden change is very prejudicial to the fruit trees. The weather is milder, and even somewhat warm towards the month of February: the sap of the fruit trees ascends, they are covered with blossoms, and a storm frequently comes from the north which destroys the most flattering appearances.

The soil is fertile, and every species of vegetables, if cultivated, succeeds here as well as in Europe. Corn does not repay the trouble of sowing: but it must be remarked, that the lands were cultivated with negligence, and that they never were manured. This want of success in the raising of corn proceeds also from the thick fogs, and too sudden heats; but to recompense this defect, the maize or Indian corn, known in Europe by the name of Turkey corn, bestows an abundant produce, giving a thousand for one. This constitutes the food of the domestic animals, of the slaves, and of the greater part of the natives of the country. The earth yields a quantity of provisions, threefold more than can be consumed. In no place is the chase more productive: from the middle of October to the end of March the inhabitants live upon game, particularly wild cattle and deer.

The buffaloe, the deer, the stag, the bear, and the wild turkey, abound in all parts, and in every season, except near the spots which are inhabited.

bited. The hunter must go to the distance of one or two leagues to find the deer, and of seven or eight to find the buffaloes. During part of the autumn, part of the winter, and of the spring, the country abounds in swans, outardes, geese, ducks of three species, wild pigeons, teal, and certain birds as large as fowls, which in this country are termed pheasants, (but which are wood hens,) partridges, and hares.

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The horned animals have there multiplied to an excess: they cost neither care nor expence. The animals used in labour feed in a large common around the village; the others, in much greater numbers, destined for the propagation of their kind, were shut up the whole of the year in a peninsula of more than ten leagues of surface formed by the Mississippi, and the river of the Tamarouas. These animals which were seldom approached, became almost wild, and it was necessary in catching them to make use of artifice. An inhabitant, if he wanted a yoke of cattle, went to the peninsula: if he perceived a bull of a size worthy of being tamed, he threw a handful of salt, he stretched out a long cord with a running knot, and concealed himself. The animal eager for the salt, approached: when he had put his foot in the snare, the man drew the cord, and the bull was taken. The same practice was used for calves, horses, and foals. These animals

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are here not subject to any disorders, they live a long time, and generally die of old age.

There were in this part of Louisiana five French villages, and three of the Illinois, in the space of twenty-two leagues, situated in a long meadow, bounded on the east by a chain of mountains and by the river of the Tamarouas, and on the west by the Mississippi. The five French villages composed together about a hundred and forty families, and consisted of eleven hundred white persons, three hundred blacks, and sixty red slaves, or savages. The three villages of the savages might have furnished three hundred men in a condition to carry arms. There are in the country several salt springs, one of which at two leagues from the principal settlement supplied all the salt that was consumed there or in the neighbouring country, and even at many posts in the dependence of Canada. There are mines without number, but as no person found himself in a condition to incur the necessary expences to open and work them, they remained in their original state. Some individuals satisfied themselves with drawing lead from them, which was found at the surface of the earth. With this they supplied the country, all the savage nations of the Missouri and Mississippi, and several posts of Canada. Borax was also found in mines, and in some spots small quantities

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ties of gold. There are also mines of copper, and large pieces of that metal have frequently been found in the rivers. The Illinois formerly comprehended an immense extent of territory; it stretched into the vast regions which the Missouri, and the rivers which throw themselves into it, intersect and adorn with their waters.

The inhabitants of the Illinois are of three classes; French, negroes, and savages; to which may be added, mulattoes. The Frenchmen, inured to the climate, generally occupied themselves in the culture of the lands; they sowed great quantities of corn; they raised European cattle, hogs, and horses in vast numbers, which, besides the chase, furnished them with abundance for the support of life. They transported to New Orleans great quantities of flour.

The savages inhabiting this country are of a character mild and sociable: they are not defective in capacity and natural good sense, of which they possess a greater share than many of the European peasantry; as much at least as the most part of the French, which proceeds from the free state in which they are educated. They are never timid: as there is no rank or dignity amongst them, every one appears to them to be their equal. The greatest part of them is capable of maintaining a conversation with any person, provided he treats not of subjects beyond the sphere

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sphere of their knowledge: they are well acquainted with raillery: they are strangers to assumption, or dispute in conversation, and they possess qualities which are not common even among civilised people. They are distributed into cabins. A cabin is a kind of common chamber, in which fifteen or twenty persons generally reside together. They live in great harmony with one another, which arises in some measure from their allowing every one to act according to his inclination. From the beginning of October to the middle of March they go to the chase, to the distance of forty or fifty leagues from their village. In the latter month they return home, and their women begin then to sow their maize. The men, except some short excursions to the chase, lead a life of perfect indolence; smoking their pipe and conversing together occupies the greatest part of their time.

When the first missionaries arrived among this people, they were said to be composed of five thousand persons of every age: in 1750 their population was reduced to two thousand. The number of the nation had diminished no less than three thousand in the space of sixty years.

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Magazines and Barracks constructed on the Isle Dauphine.

—Council to decide on all Affairs civil or criminal, for three Years, composed of the Governor, chief Commissioner, and Register.—Saint Denys sent by Land to endeavour to open a Commerce with the Spaniards of New Mexico.—Is conducted to the Capital—confined in Prison—liberated, and sent back with Presents from the Viceroy.—Marries Donna Maria de Vilescas, Daughter of the Governor of Saint John.—Treason of the Natchez.—Fort and Magazines constructed in the Great Village of that Nation.—State of Commerce.—Croizat surrenders his exclusive Privilege.—Government and Commerce vested in the Company of the West.—Government of the Illinois Country joined to that of Louisiana.—First Settlement of New Orleans.—Attack on Pensacola. Capture of that Place.—Missionaries arrive in Louisiana.—Conspiracy of several savage Nations against the French.—Massacre of the French by Natchez.—The Sun, the Grand Chief of the Natchez, sent, with his Family and Attendants, to Saint Domingo, to be sold as Slaves.—Dispersion of that People.—Company of the Indies retrocede to the King their Sovereignty over Louisiana and the Illinois.

NEWLY discovered countries sometimes have shared the fate of individuals, with respect to the erroneous judgment which, for a length

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of time, may have been formed of their qualities and value. At a period when the thirst for discovering mines of gold and silver prevailed, and when commerce had not acquired any great degree of extension, the advantages of a favourable climate, and of a soil capable of producing with abundance every article requisite for the support and convenience of human life, were not inducements sufficiently powerful to incite the inhabitants of France voluntarily to emigrate from their country, for the purpose of amassing wealth by industry, especially as that could not procure them the same degree of consideration and weight as is bestowed on it in some other countries of Europe.

The extravagant opinion which at first had been formed of Louisiana, arose solely from the prospect of sudden riches to be derived from mines; and as soon as it was supposed to be destitute of these valuable sources, it sunk, in the same proportion as it had risen, in the general estimation. The success of the Spaniards of New Mexico afterwards tended again to exalt the ideal value of Louisiana.

The latter nation, under the conduct of Ferdinand Soto, had incurred a great expence to form an establishment in Florida, and their commander employed the last year of his life in exploring the two borders of the Mississippi. Nei-

ther he, nor Moscoso his successor, had taken any measures to found a colony; and it appears that the Spaniards were long ignorant, that one of the largest rivers in the universe traversed the middle of Florida, and watered a charming country, situated under a climate temperate and healthy, and whose possession would have completely insured to the Catholic King that of the whole Gulph of Mexico.

The French, after having discovered a very considerable part of the course of this river, did not seem to pay much greater attention than the Spaniards to the advantages which might be derived from thence; and a period of thirty years elapsed in the same indifference towards that country. At length the vicinity of the mines of New Mexico, and those which were reported to have been discovered in Louisiana, having roused the French nation from its state of torpidity, there issued in less than three years from the kingdom more men, money and effects, to form an establishment in this part of America, than had gone from France since the time of Francis the First, for any of the colonies in the New World.

But when it was ascertained that the country produced neither gold nor silver, and that it was not without industry that riches could be made to flow from thence, it suddenly fell into general discredit:

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discredit: no regard was paid either to the fertility of the soil, or to the productions, which, with a small degree of labour, it could furnish, or to the importance of having a cruising ground in the Gulph of Mexico. The treasures which were brought thither from France, disappeared; the colonists either perished through misery, although they might have procured the means of living in opulence, or dispersed themselves into different quarters.

When M. d'Iberville left Louisiana, it contained no French habitations, except those of some Canadians settled at the Illinois, a fort near the mouth of the Mississippi, which was maintained only for five years, and another at the Biloxi, on the sea coast. D'Iberville had intrusted the charge of the first to M. de Bienville his brother, and to the Sieur Juchereau de St. Denys, who was much beloved by the savages, and spoke with facility the languages of several nations. He had also given an order to M. le Sueur his relation, to go with twenty men to form an establishment towards the country of the Sioux, and to take possession of a copper mine which had been discovered there. This small detachment departed on the end of April, ascended the Mississippi to the falls of St. Anthony, and entered into the river St. Peter, which discharges itself into the former at that place, and
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which has been named the Green River, because BOOK
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an earth which it washes from the mine communicates to it that colour. Le Sueur could only navigate a league upwards, having found it covered with ice, although the month of September was not yet elapsed. He was therefore obliged to erect in that situation a kind of fort, where he might pass the winter, which lasted until the month of April, and was extremely rude and severe.

When that month arrived, Le Sueur visited the mine, which was distant only three quarters of a league, and in twenty days drew from thence more than thirty thousand pounds weight of matter: he selected four thousand weight of the choicest part of it, and sent it to France. The place from whence he drew it was at the base of a mountain which is ten leagues in extent, and which appeared to be of the same materials. It is on the banks of the river, produces not a single tree, and is covered with a thin vapour which issues from its bowels.

In the following year D'Iberville made a third voyage to Louisiana, and began an establishment on the river Mobile. He there laid the foundation of a fort, to which, a little time after, M. de Bienville, who succeeded to the command of the colony by the death of M. de Sauvole, transported every thing which he had at the Biloxi, and abandoned

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abandoned that post. D'Iberville, on his return, for the fourth time, caused to be constructed in the island of Massacre magazines and barracks, because this island possessing a harbour, it was more easy there to unload the stores which should be brought from France, than to convey them in boats to the fort of the Mobile. The name of *Isle Dauphine* was at that time given to the new settlement. The inhabitants had no other means of subsistence than what was drawn from France, and from the savages, many of whom were prevailed on to fix themselves in the vicinity of the Mobile, where they cleared a considerable quantity of land, and lived upon good terms with the French. The *Apalaches* came thither of their own accord, preferring the neighbourhood of the French to that of the Spaniards, among whom they had for some time been established.

It could not be asserted that the name of a colony could be given to the French in Louisiana, or at least it received no form, until the arrival, in 1708, of M. Diron d'Artaguet, in quality of first commissioner. The earliest care of this magistrate, was to put the inhabitants in a state to cultivate the lands, which appeared to be fertile on the banks of the Mobile, that they might no longer be obliged to run over the country to procure a subsistence by the chase, or with
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the savages, when the vessels of France destined to convey them provisions were retarded on their voyage. But the success arising from thence did not answer his expectations. It was found that the earth contained but a small depth of good soil at its surface, and that the wheat was generally injured by the fogs, which produced a mildew. The inhabitants then betook themselves to the culture of tobacco, which was attended with greater success.

The island of Dauphine having been pillaged by an English armed vessel, the commissioner concluded from thence on the necessity of strengthening its fortifications. In this respect, according to the system at that time prevalent, he reasoned with propriety; it being thought expedient to fix the colony in that position, at some distance to the north-east of the mouth of the great river, as it was then supposed to be the only port where vessels could discharge their cargoes.

M. d'Artaguet returned to France the same year, and afforded to the court considerable information respecting the country. Some years before, M. de Muys, major of the troops in Canada, had been nominated governor of Louisiana, but that officer having died on his way thither, the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac was appointed his successor,

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successor, and in the instructions given him by the King it was stated, that his majesty having thought fit to grant to the *Sieur Crozat* the exclusive privilege of the commerce of *Louisiana* for a term of sixteen years, and to him and his heirs for ever, the mines and minerals which he might discover and work, on the conditions set forth in the letters patent, he enjoined, that on the arrival of such vessel of the said *Sieur Crozat*, he should examine if the stipulation of bringing into the colony six young women, or the same number of young men, was strictly executed. The King added, that the *Sieur d'Artaguet*, commissioner of the colony, having returned to France, he had made choice of the *Sieur Duclos* to execute the functions of chief commissioner: that as there was not yet any officer of justice in *Louisiana*, and it was not convenient at that period to send thither judges, because the country was not sufficiently settled, he had nevertheless established for three years a superior council to decide on all affairs that should be brought before it, as well civil as criminal; and, to compose this council, he had made choice of the governor and the commissioner jointly, and of a register; and that according to the manner in which they should exercise the administration of justice, which was intrusted to them, he should form

form his resolution of continuing, and of augmenting this establishment of a council, or of totally dissolving it.

M. Crozat, on his part, had recommended to the governor, whom he associated with him in commerce, to send detachments to the country of the Illinois for the discovery of mines; and to that of the Spaniards of Old and New Mexico, to establish a commerce with these two provinces. The first held the government of France for several years in suspense, and ended in nothing. The second was not more fortunate. La Motte Cadillac had scarcely disembarked on the island of Dauphine, when he sent the vessel in which he had arrived to Vera Cruz. But the voyage proved fruitless. M. de la Jonchere, who commanded the vessel, could not obtain from the viceroy permission to sell his cargo: he was presented with some animals and other provisions, of which he was in want, and was obliged shortly to depart. The governor entertained the hope of succeeding better in another attempt which he made by land for the same object, but it had no better success than the first. He had confided the conduct of this expedition to the Sieur St. Denys, than whom he could not have made a better choice. He gave him merchandise to the amount of near five hundred pounds sterling, and agreed that he should leave it

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it in depot with the *Natchitoches*, a savage nation established in the Red River. M. de Bienville and St. Denys had made an alliance with this people a few years before, and some of these savages came afterwards to settle on the Mississippi, near the *Colapissas*.

St. Denys conceived that it would be advantageous to prevail on these *Natchitoches* to accompany him, and he made them a proposal for this purpose by a person named Penicaut, a ship carpenter. This man had accompanied M. le Sueur to the copper mine; he had made several voyages on the Mississippi, and understood almost the whole of the languages of the savages of Louisiana. It was he who had introduced the *Natchitoches* to the *Colapissas*, and he found little difficulty in persuading them to return with M. de St. Denys to their country. But the *Colapissas*, who had treated them with much humanity, and to whom their society had been serviceable, were so much displeased at seeing them at and on their vicinity, without ever acknowledging their kindness, pursued them, killed seventeen of their number, and carried off several of their daughters and wives. The rest made their escape through the woods, and joined M. St. Denys, who waited for them at Biloxi. He set out with them, and in passing through the village of the *Tonicas* he engaged the chief of this

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this nation to follow him with fifteen of his best hunters. Arrived at the village of the Natchitoches, situated in an island of the Red River at forty leagues from its mouth in the Mississippi, he there built some habitations for the French, whom he intended to leave behind him: he persuaded some other savages to unite with the Natchitoches, by assuring them he would never forsake them, and he distributed both to the one and the other utensils of husbandry, and grain for sowing. He then made choice of twelve Frenchmen out of those whom he had brought with him, and of some savages, to accompany him: he quitted the Red River, which is not navigable above the island that has been mentioned, and directed his course towards the west.

After a journey of twenty days he arrived among the *Affinai*s, neighbours of the *Genis*, and not far from the place where M. de la Sale was murdered. These savages asserted that they never had seen Frenchmen, and knew no other Europeans than the Spaniards, who like themselves went naked, and existed in a miserable condition. The *Affinai*s allowed guides to M. St. Denys, who travelled a hundred and fifty leagues further to the south-west before he arrived at the first habitations of the Spaniards. He at length found on the banks of a considerable

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able river a fort which was called *Saint Jean Baptiste*, and likewise *Presidio del Norte*. He was there well received by the commandant Don Pedro de Vilescas, who took him into his family. After some days of repose, St. Denys entered on negotiation with Don Pedro: he informed him he was come on the part of the governor of Louisiana, to present to him a proposal to open a commerce under certain regulations with that colony, and that he should dictate the conditions.

The Spanish commandant answered, that he could do nothing without the permission of the governor of *Caouis*, his immediate superior, to whom he would forthwith send an express to receive his orders. *Caouis* is at sixty leagues distant from the *Presidio del Norte*, on the way to Mexico. The governor having read Vilescas's letter, sent twenty-five horsemen to conduct St. Denys to *Caouis*, and after examining his passport, told him it was necessary he should go to the viceroy at Mexico. To this he consented, but did not set out until the following year. From *Caouis* to Mexico, the distance is two hundred and fifty leagues. St. Denys performed this journey under conduct of an officer, and an escort of the twenty-five horsemen. On arriving at the capital of New Spain, he was presented to the viceroy, to whom he delivered his passport.

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His excellency having read it, returned it to him, and without attending to a single word from him, committed him to prison. He remained there for three months, and perhaps would never have recovered his liberty, had it not been for the intercession of some of his countrymen, officers in the service of the Catholic King. He was at their solicitation liberated from his confinement, and the viceroy gave him three hundred piastres and a convenient lodging, and invited him often to his table. The more he became known to his excellency, the more strongly the latter became impressed with a sense of his talents and worth; he therefore omitted no means of endeavouring to induce him to prefer, to the service of a poor colony, the more advantageous and profitable service of New Spain: he told him, that many of his countrymen had already given him an example to that effect, which they had no reason to regret. Some of the French officers also used their influence to prevail on him to act as they had done, and assured him that they found their situation perfectly agreeable.

St. Denys had no rank in Louisiana, and served there only as a volunteer: he was offered a company of cavalry, which he declined accepting, and, notwithstanding every argument which was used, persisted in his refusal. The viceroy



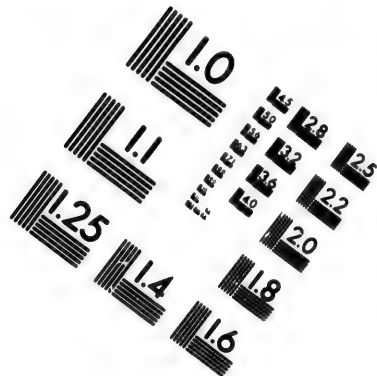
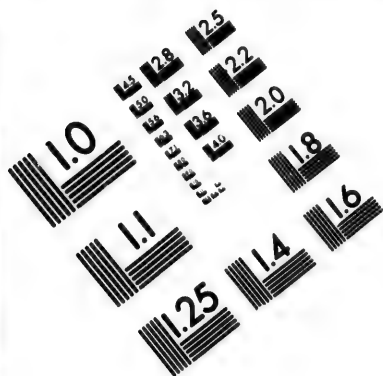
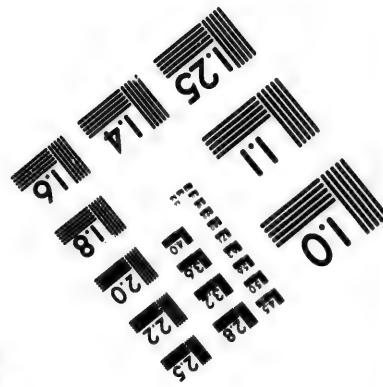
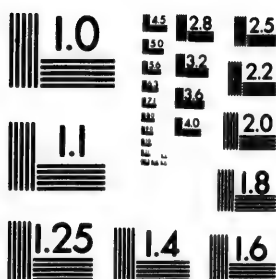


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told him that he was already half a Spaniard, since he had engaged to marry the daughter of Don Pedro de Vilescas, and it was settled that the nuptials were to be solemnized on his return to Fort St. John.

"I cannot dissemble," replied St. Denys, "since your excellency has been informed that I have an attachment for that young lady, but I never entertained the hope of obtaining her for a wife." "You shall obtain her," replied the viceroy, "if you will accept of the offer which I have made, and I give you two months to consider of it." At the end of that period he again found him, and having found him inflexible, he took his leave, putting into his hand a purse containing a thousand dollars, telling him that it was to defray the expences of his marriage. "I hope," added he, "that Donna Maria will have more influence than me to determine you to remain in Mexico. With respect to the liberty of commerce with Louisiana, which you have travelled so far to solicit, it is not in my power to grant it."

The following day he sent him a very fine horse from his stable, and ordered him to be conducted to Caouis by an officer and two horsemen. From thence they proceeded to the habitation of Don Vilescas, whom he found in a state of great embarrassment. This commandant had

had recently been informed that all the inhabitants of four savage villages, disgusted with the vexations of the Spaniards of *Presidio del Norte*, were about to withdraw to another situation, and he was apprehensive that he should be made responsible for this desertion, which would, besides, reduce his command to great extremities, because the garrison could only subsist by means of these savages.

He communicated his anxiety to M. de St. Denys, who offered to go in search of these barbarians, and to endeavour to prevail on them to return. Don Pedro embraced him, telling him that he would be exposed to danger if he went alone. St. Denys replied, that he was under no apprehension, and immediately mounted his horse, taking with him Jallot, his valet de chambre, and surgeon. He was not long in overtaking the savages, whose baggage, women, and children rendered their march extremely slow; and as soon as he perceived them at a distance, he placed his handkerchief at the end of a little rod, in token of a flag, and then advanced to their chiefs who waited for him.

He represented to them, in the Spanish language, the danger to which they were about to expose themselves in going to settle amongst people to whom they were strangers, and whom he knew to be extremely inhospitable and cruel.

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He then told them, that if they would return to their former habitation, he would promise them on the part of the commandant, that no Spaniard should ever again set foot in their villages, which was as much as they desired, and that in future they should have no cause to disapprove of the conduct of the officers and soldiers. They yielded to his persuasion, and Don Pedro was as much surprised as delighted to behold his guest return with all the savages, whose retreat would infallibly have ruined him. He immediately ratified the promises which St. Denys had made them, and they re-entered their villages, where it was forbidden to the Spaniards on pain of death to set foot without an express permission.

After so essential a piece of service, St. Denys had little difficulty in obtaining from Vilescas his consent to espouse his daughter, and the marriage was celebrated with all the Spanish pomp and magnificence which the place where they were could afford. He remained at St. John for six months after his marriage; at length conceiving that he ought no longer to delay rendering an account to M. de la Motte Cadillac of the success of his commission, he departed for the Mobile with Don John de Vilescas, uncle of his wife, whom he left behind with a promise of returning as soon as possible.

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During the course of these negotiations and adventures, the governor of Louisiana had sent the Sieur de la Loire to the Natchez with merchandise, to establish magazines in their country. M. de la Motte Cadillac, on his return from the fort of the Illinois, which he had been to visit, received an embassy from several nations, and at the same time from the Alibamons, until then the declared enemies of the French, who offered to build at their own expence a fort in their village, and to receive Frenchmen into it. Their offer was accepted, the fort was built, and M. de la Tour, a captain, took possession of it, with two lieutenants and some soldiers.

It was soon after discovered that the Natchez had some treasonable purpose in contemplation: they killed four Frenchmen who were travelling with some of their people, and they intended the same fate for M. M. de la Loire, the elder of whom had gone to the Illinois with another band of these barbarians, and the younger remained in their great village. But one of those who accompanied the first, gave him warning to be upon his guard. He took the earliest opportunity of speaking on this subject to every one singly, without disclosing the person who had revealed the secret of their design, and he promised a considerable reward, and gave his word that he would make no disclosure of it, if they would

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communicate to him the whole truth. They all declared to him, that at six leagues from the place where they then were, and in a situation where they must come nigh to the banks of the river, to avoid a dangerous gulph, a hundred and fifty of their people armed with fusils, and who had at their head a chief named Le Barbec, awaited them, and that he must infallibly perish there. This advice from eight persons, who all assured him of the same circumstance, made La Loire form the resolution of immediately returning; but as he had every reason to believe that the conspiracy on the part of the Natchez was general, he suffered much anxiety on account of his brother. Penicaut, who accompanied him, made offer to effect his brother's escape from the great village of the Natchez, which he did by the following means: The company being arrived about an hour and a half before evening, at the landing-place of the Natchez, Penicaut went ashore alone, and told the Sieur de la Loire to wait there until midnight, and that if he did not return before then, he might conclude he was dead. He went to the quarters of the young La Loire, about a league distant from thence, having only his fusil and some ammunition. As he approached the village, some Natchez who perceived him hastened to acquaint La Loire of the arrival of a Frenchman, who going out to learn

learn who it was, and recognizing Penicaut, demanded the reason of his journey, and enquired after his brother. Penicaut answered, that he had fallen sick; but when he entered his quarters, he requested him to send in search of the great chief of the Natchez, who immediately obeyed the summons. Penicaut informed him that six of the eight Natchez who had accompanied the Sieur de la Loire, and him, to proceed to the Illinois, were seized with sickness; that they had been therefore obliged to put back, and that they were at the landing-place. He begged that he would send next morning thirty savages to unload the canoe, and to transport the merchandise to the store. With this the grand chief promised to comply, and added that M. de la Loire had acted prudently in not proceeding further, because he entertained some apprehensions for him, on account of the Yafous, a perfidious nation, and inimical to the French. Penicaut made no reply, and shewed an entire confidence in the chief; but when the latter retired, he revealed to La Loire the subject of his journey, and gave him to understand, that he must think only of saving himself by flight, and that not a moment was to be lost. La Loire told him, that it would not be an easy matter to effect it in secrecy, because three savages slept in

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in his chamber; but Penicaut re-assured him, saying, he would be answerable for its success.

They pretended to go to rest, and the savages immediately fell asleep. Penicaut wished to put them to death, but La Loire prevented him, concluding that it was difficult to kill three men without some one of them having time to cry out. Penicaut then softly opened the door, and made La Loire go out, who had the precaution to charge his fusil. A short time after he went out himself, locked the chamber on the outside, and run to rejoin his companion. As they approached the landing, they met the elder La Loire, who began to become very anxious; they embraced each other, and afterwards took leave of the eight Natchez, having bestowed on them a liberal recompence.

At ten o'clock next morning they arrived among the Tonicas, and had not yet departed from them, when they saw three Natchez disembark, whom the great chief had dispatched to engage them to massacre all the French who were in their village. The chief of the Tonicas, who was a good man, and a friend to the French, revolted at such a proposal. He was inclined, instead of replying, to put to death the persons who carried the message, but an ecclesiastic, who was missionary of his village, opposed his intention.

tion. M. M. de la Loire continued their journey, and arrived at the Mobile, where their countrymen were surprised to see them, and still more at the cause of their return. M. de la Motte Cadillac conceived that he ought not to leave unpunished the treason of the Natchez, and raised a party of a hundred men, consisting of soldiers and inhabitants, under the orders of M. de Bienville, lieutenant of the King, to whom he joined M. de Pailloux, major of the army; M. de Richebourg, a captain, du Tisné, a lieutenant, and the two brothers who had lately escaped from that nation. As they passed before the bay of the Tonicas, they observed a bag suspended to the branch of a tree on the borders of the river, and therein they found a letter from M. Davion, who having learnt that they should pass that way without stopping, gave them advice that a Frenchman, named Richard, returning from the Illinois, had been taken by the Natchez; that these barbarians, after having robbed him of his merchandise, had led him to their village, had cut off his hands and feet, and had thrown him alive into the kennel. Hitherto M. de Bienville conceived that the De la Loires had been influenced by ideal apprehensions, but the contents of this letter tended to undeceive him. He did not think he had a force sufficient to proceed immediately to the Natchez: he entered into the bay of

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of the Tonicas, constructed a fort there, and sent Du Tisné with twenty men to the great chief of the Natchez, to inform him that he had an affair to communicate to him, and to request that he would come to the Tonicas. Du Tisné returned the following day, and reported to M. de Bienville that the grand chief proposed immediately to follow him. He did not however leave his village, but sent to the French commander some subordinate chiefs with twenty-five men. Bienville, when he perceived their canoes at a distance, raised on the borders of the river five standards, erected a number of tents, and caused all the drums to be beaten, to make them suppose that he had at least six hundred men. The savages disembarked and entered the fort with as much confidence as if they were coming to pay a visit. They then presented to the commander a calumet of peace, which he rejected: this made such an impression on the minds of the barbarians, that they gave up every hope of safety. Bienville told them with an angry air, that he was come to demand satisfaction for the murder which they committed on five Frenchmen, and that he insisted on their delivering up the murderers, or at least bringing him their principal. They answered, that what he demanded was not in their power to grant, but that if it was his pleasure, they would send some of their number to acquaint the

the great chief of his intentions. He consented, on condition that all the others should remain his prisoners, and he caused them to be conducted to a cabin, where they were under his immediate view. They who had gone on this business to the Natchez, soon returned, and presented to the commander the head of a man whom the great chief had put to death, but who was not concerned in the murder. Bienville asked them if they meant only to deceive him, and added, that he insisted on having the heads of the guilty, and particularly that of the chief, whom he expressly named.

The deputies answered, that this chief was the nephew of the *Seur*, who would sooner see his whole village perish, than sacrifice this young man, the most brave of all the nation; and that among those whom he had detained were the four murderers of the French, on whom he might execute justice. Bienville called them forth immediately; they wished to deny the fact, but they were convicted, and were instantly executed. There was among them a chief so much disliked by all the neighbouring nations for his cruelty and treachery, that his death had long been desired. The French having taken satisfaction with respect to the massacre of their countrymen, deliberated on what was most fit to be pursued in the conjuncture in which they found themselves,

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selves, and it was thought that the Natchez, if they were pushed to extremity, being in a condition to interrupt the navigation of the river, and all communication with the Illinois, it was more advantageous to profit by the consternation with which they were inspired, to make peace with them, and to propose to them the following conditions :

That they should construct at their own expence, and in a situation which should be marked out to them, a fort in their great village, with magazines, and lodgment necessary for a garrison, and agents, who should be established there : That they should restore all the property in merchandise which they had taken from the French, and make full satisfaction for all the losses they had caused to them : That the nephew of the great chief, whose conduct was so culpable, should not appear in the village under pain of death. These articles were read to the deputies, who approved of them, and M. Pailloux with twenty men was ordered to go to the great chief to get them ratified by him. He entered the village with his drum beating and ensign flying : all they who were partial to the French ran towards him, and received him with loud acclamations. He went directly to the cabin of the Sun, and presented him the conditions of peace ; the chief accepted them, and said, that he only waited

waited for the orders of M. de Bienville to commence the construction of the fort. On this answer reaching the commander, he departed from the Tonicas with fifty men to proceed to the Natchez, where the Sun, followed by the whole inhabitants of his village, received him on disembarking from his canoe. Next day he marked out the place where he intended the fort should be built, which was immediately traced, and M. de Pailloux was charged with the office of directing the workmen. At the end of six weeks it was finished, and M. de Bienville, who was then at his camp among the Tonicas, returned with all his men to take possession of the fort. He caused to be added, lodgings for the officers, barracks for the men, and magazines for merchandise, ammunition, and provisions. The fort was named *Rosalie*, after the name of Madame de Ponchartrain. The Natchez afterwards sung the calumet to M. de Bienville, who passed the remainder of the year in that place. Before his departure, he gave the command to the Sieur de Pailloux, with whom he left Tifné the lieutenant. He afterwards set out for the Mobile, where he did not remain longer than was sufficient to prepare a large convoy, which he conducted to the Natchez.

It was about the same time that M. de St. Denys arrived at the Mobile, and the answer which

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which he brought from the viceroy of New Spain, depriving M. de la Motte Cadillac of all hope of carrying on openly a commerce with the Spaniards, he thought on his part of preventing their too near approach to the French, which it appeared to be their design to effect. For this purpose he ordered the Sieur du Tisné to set out to construct a fort on the island of the Natchitoches. The fort was scarcely finished, when Du Tisné learnt that the Spaniards had formed a settlement among the Affiniais, and there was every reason to believe that their project was to push on to the Mississippi, if they were not prevented: the governor of Louisiana therefore reinforced the garrison at the Natchitoches.

The exclusive commerce granted four years ago to M. Crozat, far from accelerating the progress of the colony, had been highly prejudicial to it, and he had likewise not found the advantages which he had promised himself from thence. The advancement of a colony, and the profits to be derived from its trade, are immediately dependent on each other. To benefit by the latter, the colony must first be peopled to a certain degree, and the inhabitants must attain to a state to consume the merchandise brought to it, and to give the produce of the country in return. This cannot be acquired, without at first making very great advances in money.

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We shall now endeavour to shew in what state the colony of Louisiana was found, when M. Crozat obtained his exclusive privilege, and that in which it was when he renounced this privilege. In 1712 there were only twenty-eight French families in the province, of which not one half employed themselves in the cultivation of the land, or could properly be stiled inhabitants; the rest consisted of merchants, tavern-keepers, and artificers, who settled in no fixed habitation. Trade was then carried on solely at the Mobile, and at the Isle Dauphine, and the articles of commerce consisted of planks, and skins of bears, of deer, of cats, and similar furs. The *Voyageurs*, or *Coueurs de Bois*, almost all Canadians, went among the savages to exchange whatever of the articles from France they could procure, for skins and slaves, which they returned to dispose of to the inhabitants: the latter re-sold the skins to the Spaniards of Pensacola, or to the commanders of vessels who came from France, and employed the slaves in clearing the land, or in sawing planks, which they sold sometimes at Pensacola, but oftener at Martinique and St. Domingo. They drew in exchange from these colonies sugar, tobacco, cocoa, and merchandise of France, when there happened to be a scarcity in their own settlement, from the intermission of a direct communication with the parent state. They carried

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ried to Pensacola, where the Spaniards had only cleared a small quantity of land, vegetables, maize, fowls, and in general all that they could derive from their industry, and of which their neighbours, much less industrious and laborious, were in want. All this brought them money, with which they purchased what they were obliged to procure from other quarters: it was by no means sufficient to enrich them, but they gained by it a comfortable subsistence. They well knew that the country could produce tobacco, indigo, cotton, and silk; but hands were wanted for cultivating these articles; there was no person in the colony who could assist them, or animate their endeavours; they were likewise ignorant of the manner of raising them.

The foundations of the colony had so little solidity, that it was feared the government would abandon it, and that all the trouble and expence which had been bestowed by individuals would thereby be totally lost. Many withdrew to other quarters, and others only remained because they had not the means of removing. It was rather a singular circumstance that Crozat, on acquiring for twenty-five years the domains of Louisiana, together with the exclusive commerce, did not make himself better acquainted with the situation of affairs, to form his plans on more secure grounds: but it sometimes happens on
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similar occasions, that there is a want of confidence in the persons from whom the best information can be derived, and whose experience has rendered them the most capable of seconding a new enterprise. A jealousy is entertained, that the interests of the person to whom the privilege is granted, will be sacrificed to that of the person who commands, and it is seldom reflected, that to succeed in an enterprise of that nature, the most certain mode is to allow a share of the advantages arising from thence to those to whom the chief direction is committed, that they may thereby exert themselves the more to promote its ultimate success.

Crozat comprehended not, that little advantage could be drawn from a country, although fertile in itself, where the inhabitants are deprived of the means of gaining wealth. He had scarcely taken possession of his exclusive privilege of commerce, when the vessels of the islands no longer appeared at Louisiana. The inhabitants were at the same time prohibited from going to Pensacola, from whence came all the money which was in circulation in the colony, nor to sell any article whatever, except to the agents of Crozat, who thereby had it in their power to give to the provisions of the colony what value they pleased, a power which they failed not to abuse: they at length rated the furs so low, that

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the hunters, finding they could dispose of them better in Canada, and in the English colonies, carried the whole to these countries.

In maintaining a contrary conduct, the company of Crozat would have acquired credit, and gained the confidence of the colonists; he might gradually have led them into his scheme, when they had multiplied, and have drawn from the country the whole of its produce.

But in cutting off the small vein of money which flowed in from Pensacola, in lessening the price of their produce and their merchandise, in restraining their commerce, whose profits would have centered in the company, in augmenting the value of the articles they drew from France, they were deprived of the means of subsistence, and their lands became of no estimation.

This decay of the commerce and agriculture of Louisiana could not fail to give some uneasiness to the government, if it was considered that after the twenty-five years for which this privilege was held, the colony would be much less advanced than it was when Crozat first received it, and the King was by no means indemnified by the freight of fifty tons, which the company engaged to allow him in their vessels. It is true, that the King thereby saved the expence of freighting a vessel, which otherwise must have been sent to Louisiana, to transport thither necessary

salaries for the troops; but there was an easy mode of repaying this expence, by the freight which the vessel could not fail to find at St. Domingo.

Crozat seemed to feel more for the injury which his privilege occasioned to the interests of the King, than that which arose from it to the inhabitants of Louisiana. He therefore proposed a new arrangement, with a view of facilitating to the officers, soldiers, and others employed in the colony the payment of their salaries, and the transport of merchandise and provisions for the forts, and for the presents which were annually made to the savages. To this the government assented. Some months after he presented a memorial, complaining of various grievances, and by which it appeared that the inhabitants of Louisiana were much dissatisfied with his exclusive privilege.

He stated that the weakness of the French in that colony rendered them contemptible to the savages, and put it out of their power to prevent them from harrassing the inhabitants with continued acts of hostility; whence it arose that it was impossible to establish any settled commerce in the country, and to send vessels from France without losing the expences of the voyage. That the English were approaching their settlements very near to the French, who, cantoned on the

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river Mobile, and in the Isle Dauphine, where the lands were good for nothing, left open to the first all the borders of the Mississippi, where they could not be prevented from settling, and from penetrating from thence to New Mexico and New Biscay: that it was not comprehended whence could arise the indifference with which in France Louisiana was considered. Crozat ventured to assert, that if attention was paid to the advantages which might be drawn from thence, there was no colony whose preservation and prosperity was of greater consequence to the state. The maritime commerce of the kingdom he stated to be reduced to a very inconsiderable compass. By the different establishments that might be formed at Louisiana, it might be hoped that if serious attention was paid to that colony, the commerce would occupy in a few years a considerable number of vessels. He complained that the officers for the administration of the government had refused to register in the council of the province his letters patent: that all the inhabitants were in opposition to him, and that this spirit was fomented by those officers who were accustomed to trade with the Spaniards.

This representation was apparently made to endeavour to gain over the troops to his interests, but as his affairs succeeded not better than before, he did not wait until the expiration of the period of
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of his privilege, and surrendered it to the King the following year. It was then that the celebrated *Company of the West* was formed, which, under the guidance of Mr. Law, charged itself by degrees with all the commerce both within and without the kingdom, and from whence arose the company of the Indies, attaining afterwards a high degree of prosperity, and the only one that succeeded in France since the foundation of the monarchy. The letters patent of the first, in form of an edict, importing an establishment of commerce under the name of the *Company of the West*, and which, registered in the parliament of the 6th of September of the same year, declare, that his majesty granted to the said company for twenty-five years the commerce of Canada, on condition of improving the agriculture and plantations; to exercise exclusively during the space of twenty-five years, to be reckoned from the day of the registry, the commerce in the province and government of Louisiana; and to possess in perpetuity all the lands, ports, coasts, harbours, and islands which composed this province; to enjoy the same in full property, with the right of feignory, and of administration of justice, his majesty reserving no other right but that of fidelity and allegiance, which the said company were bound to render to him, and to present to each of his successors, on his accession

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the throne, a crown of gold of the weight of thirty marks.

And by another *arrêt* of the 27th of the same month of September, the country of the Illinois was detached from the government of New France, and incorporated with that of Louisiana.

They were empowered to treat, and make alliance in name of his majesty, throughout the whole extent of their concession, with all the nations of the country who were not dependant on other European sovereigns; and in case of insult, to declare war against them. They were to enjoy the absolute possession of the mines and minerals which should be opened during the time of the privilege. Permission was given them to sell and alienate the lands of their concession, to construct such forts, castles, and places as they should find necessary for the defence of the country; granted, to place garrisons there, to raise troops in France with the consent of his majesty, and to establish and appoint such governors, majors, military officers, and others, as they should think fit to command their troops.

M. de la Motte Cadillac and M. Duclos had quitted Louisiana before this change took place. M. de l'Epinai had succeeded the first, and M. Hubert the second. They arrived at the Isle Dauphine in the month of March 1717, and some months

months after the company of the west nominated M. de Bienville commandant-general of all the provinces. His instructions were dated the 12th of September, but he did not leave France until the ensuing year. M. de l'Epinaï arrived with three ships, which conveyed several officers and a great number of soldiers, a quantity of ammunition and provisions, and every species of merchandise. The whole were landed in the Isle Dauphine, except the merchandise contained in the *Dudlow*, commanded by M. de Golleville, who had orders to sail for Vera Cruz. This captain, acquainted with what had happened five years before to M. de la Jonchere, who could not obtain permission to trade in that port, did not think fit to go thither: he went to anchor at *Villarica*, which was the former Vera Cruz, built by Cortes, and secretly notified his arrival to the Spanish merchants: they delayed not to come on board his vessel, and purchased his whole cargo, for which they paid him in money.

M. de l'Epinaï strengthened the fortifications of the Isle Dauphine, on which were the stores and magazines; and whilst he was occupied in this service, twenty-four savage nations sent deputies to congratulate him, and to sing the calumet. But the satisfaction of beholding this concourse of so many nations assembled in his government, was soon afterwards disturbed by

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an unforeseen accident, which disconcerted his measures, and rendered useless all the expences which had been bestowed on the Isle Dauphine. Towards the end of the month of August, the only passage into the harbour of this settlement was filled by a prodigious quantity of sand collected there by the effects of a hurricane. The island itself was almost overflowed, and great numbers of animals were drowned.

It became immediately necessary to search for another anchorage for vessels, and the *Isle Surgere* was made choice of, which was afterwards named *Isle aux Vaisseaux*. It has only one road, which is perfectly safe, except when the wind blows from the north or north-west, but these winds seldom occur, and are not violent. A small fort was erected on the island for the security of the ships, and the establishment on the Isle Dauphine was removed to the Biloxi, which is to the northward of the *Isle aux Vaisseaux*, but which ships cannot approach nearer than four leagues. Nothing evinces more strongly than this new settlement, how much their commerce with the Spaniards was there circumscribed. The soil of the Biloxi was not better than that of the Isle Dauphine, and this post had not a road for the smallest brigantines. It is somewhat singular that the centre of a colony should have been placed on a barren sand, whose coast was practicable

cable for no other vessels but such as were of a very small size.

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In the same year, however, were laid the foundations of New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana. M. de Bienville having arrived at the Mobile from the Natchez, to congratulate the new governor, informed him that he had observed on the borders of the river a place extremely fit to establish as a post, and M. l'Épinai gave him the charge of this proposed settlement. He sent with him eighty traders newly arrived from France, with carpenters to build houses. He at the same time gave instructions to M. de Blondel, a captain, to relieve M. de Pailloux at the Natchez, and the latter had orders to join M. de Bienville, to second him in his enterprise, which was not at that time far advanced. The government of the infant city was given to M. de Pailloux. It is situated thirty-three leagues from the sea, and it may be reached from thence in a boat or canoe in twenty-four hours. The soil in its vicinity is fertile, and its climate in the thirteenth degree of latitude, renders it capable of affording to the labours of the planter all the production of the islands. The environs of New Orleans present nothing remarkable, and the choice of its situation, in point of advantage, does not appear to exceed several other spots or banks of

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of the Mississippi. But among the motives which induced M. de Bienville to fix it where it now stands, was, that a league distant from thence, towards the north-east, there is a small river called St. John, which after a course of two leagues discharges itself into Lake Pontchartrain, communicating with the sea: by this means it became easy to hold a correspondence between the capital, the Mobile, and the Biloxi, and the other posts occupied near the sea. The second reason was, that below the city the river forms a great curve, named the *Bend of the English*, which, in case of the ascent of an enemy, might occasion a delay which was thought advantageous, to avoid a surprise,

They who thus reasoned, supposed that the entrance of the river could receive small vessels only, and therefore little apprehension could be entertained from thence, as it could not be attacked with cannon. In whatever situation the city was built, the mouth of the river ought to have been defended by batteries, and by a fort, which would give time and warning to be prepared for the reception of an enemy. There could be no great necessity for a communication by means of boats between the ports, which, if attacked, could not be succoured. When a small vessel, besides, is ascending the river, she must

must have frequent changes of wind, which must detain her a considerable time in advancing a few leagues.

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A little distance below New Orleans, the soil on each side the Mississippi begins not to have much depth, and this always diminishes towards the sea. Two points of land, whose formation does not appear of an ancient date, form the boundaries on each side to its mouth: water is found at a small distance from the surface, and the quantity of shoals and small islands, which within a few years had imperceptibly collected at all the outlets of the river, leave little doubt that these points have been formed in the same manner. It appears beyond question, that when M. de la Sale descended the Mississippi to the sea, the mouth of that river was then in a very different state from what it now is.

The nearer to the sea, the more evident this change becomes: the bar has scarcely any water in the greater part of the small issues, which the river keeps open, and which have extremely multiplied by means of the trees, which are drawn thither by the current. When a single tree is fixed by its branches or its roots, in a place which has little depth, it becomes the cause of stopping a thousand. In situations on the river, two hundred leagues from the sea, are several instances of the same kind. Nothing is capable

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capable of disengaging them: the slime which the river carries down with its waters, serves as a cement, and covers them by degrees: every inundation leaves a new bed, and after ten years at most the canes and shrubs begin to grow thereupon. In this manner have been formed the greatest part of the points and islands, which have frequently caused the river to change its course.

New Orleans was for several years little better than a camp upon the borders of the river, and the inhabitants had no other view than to protect themselves from the injuries of the weather, waiting until a place was formed that they might begin to build.

On the commencement of the following year, the entrance of the Mississippi was sounded, to ascertain if loaded vessels could enter, and sixteen feet of water were found upon the bar. The Neptune, a vessel newly arrived from France, was sent into the river, and she ascended without any difficulty as far as New Orleans. It appears somewhat singular, that, after this discovery of the river being navigable, the government did not take measures to establish thereafter the head quarters at that place, and that several thousand men were left to become a prey to wretchedness and disease, under pretence that there were not batteaux sufficient in number to transport them

to the place of their destination, since the same vessels in which they had come from France might have disembarked them at New Orleans, and still nearer, if necessary, to their concessions.

In the month of March in the following year, the persons to whom the first concessions were given arrived. The *Sieur Dugué de Boisbriand* accompanied them, and brought the orders of the company, who, with the approbation of his majesty, had nominated him commandant at the Illinois, *M. de Bienville* commandant-general of Louisiana, and director of the company in that province, and *M. de Pailloux* major-general. The first went without delay to the Illinois, taking with him *M. Diron*, and the *Chevalier d'Artaquette*. The former was a captain, and was soon after declared inspector-general of the province.

At the same time several nations of savages, some of whom had long shewn a disposition unfavourable to the French, established themselves on the Mississippi, not far from New Orleans, and as the greatest part of these people were in the habit of cultivating the lands, they cleared considerable tracts, and planted them with corn, which became a great resource for the new city, as they frequently furnished provisions to the inhabitants in times of scarcity. Some of the settlers also sent a part of their people higher up the river, and the advantages which they there found,

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found, to form solid establishments, caused those who had a regard for the public welfare to regret that they had prohibited the other settlers from pursuing the same plan. The inquietudes which arose on account of interruption from the English soon vanished; all the nations bordering on the river were friendly to them, or at least disturbed not their repose, and the only means of insuring themselves against the intrigues of some, and the levity of others, was to fortify and people the colony.

In the month of June, M. de Bienville sent to take possession of the bay St. Joseph, situated fifty leagues east from Isle Dauphine. M. de Chateaugué his brother was charged with this expedition, in which he acquitted himself without any difficulty, and caused to be built there a stone fort. The Spaniards had abandoned that post eighteen years before; the governor of Pensacola was, however, no sooner informed of this enterprise, than he wrote to M. de Bienville, that the bay of St. Joseph belonged to the Catholic King. It was not of sufficient consequence to become a subject of dispute, and M. de Chateaugué doubted not a moment that it should be deserted, which happened in the following year.

1719. In the month of February M. de Serigny arrived at Louisiana with three vessels, there published that war was declared against Spain, and shewed

shewed the instructions which he had to capture Pensacola. The bay which bears that name was, according to the Spanish writers, first discovered by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who there landed in his unfortunate expedition to Florida. Diego de Maldonado, one of the captains of Ferdinand Soto discovered it a second time, and gave it the name of *Port d'Anchusi*. In 1558 Don André de Pés, general of the fleet of Barlovento, having gone to reconnoitre it, added to the last name that of *De Galve*, in honour of the Count de Galve, at that time viceroy of Mexico. This bay is therefore known among the Spaniards by the name of *Santa Maria de Galve*. And that of Pensacola, where the inhabitants of the country were settled, who have since been extirpated by other savages, has given name to the province, to which the Spaniards allot a great extent. In 1696, Don André de Arriola having been nominated the first governor of this province, went to take possession of it, and built in the bay of St. Maria de Galve a fort of four bastions, which he called St. Charles, with a church and some houses: and this was the state in which this place was found when M. de Serigny laid siege to it. The company of the west having seized the opportunity of the rupture between the two crowns, to procure the only port which is found on all the coast of West Florida, M. de Serigny began by assembling a council of war, the result of

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of which was, that Messrs. Bienville and Chateaugué should call together at the Mobile all the savages, allies of the French, all the inhabitants, *voyageurs*, and settlers, and that they should conduct them by land to Pensacola, whilst the three vessels in which were embarked a hundred and fifty soldiers, should enter the bay. All this was executed with much secrecy and diligence. On the 14th of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, M. de Serigny entered the bay: Don John Petro Matameros, governor of Fort St. Charles, who was not in a condition to attempt a defence, sent to the governor of St. Joseph to demand assistance, but he was not allowed time to receive it. Serigny kept up a brisk firing for the space of six hours, when the governor sent a captain of infantry to demand of the French commander the reason of such unexpected hostility. M. de Serigny sent back this officer, accompanied by a French captain, who informed Don John that war against Spain had been published in France on the 14th of January, and summoned him to surrender the place. The governor with the advice of his council requested to be allowed time until the following day, which he obtained; but afterwards reflecting that with a hundred and sixty men which he had in the fort, without any hope of receiving timely succours, it was not possible to resist six hundred men, who attacked him by sea, and seven hundred men by land, he conceived

conceived it more prudent to endeavour to obtain an advantageous capitulation, than to expose himself to the consequences of a vain resistance, and therefore the same day surrendered on terms.

On the 29th of June, Don Alphonso Carrascofa having set sail from Vera Cruz for the purpose of retaking Pensacola, with eight hundred and fifty men, including regular troops, volunteers and marines, in twelve ships and three frigates, arrived at St. Joseph, and sent one of his lieutenants to the governor of the fort, to learn the situation of the French. From the information of deserters it was found that no repairs had been made, that the isle of St. Rose and the point of Seguença were abandoned, and there could be little doubt that the French commander would surrender at the first summons.

Carrascofa entered the bay, and landed a detachment of fifty men, who took possession of point Seguença, which is the western extremity of St. Rose. Fifty French soldiers deserted to them, and informed them that, on the approach of the Spanish troops, the gates of the fort would be opened. The garrison was composed only of deserters, illicit traders, and people who had been compelled to embark for Louisiana. After some firing on both sides, the Spanish commander sent to the governor, requiring him to surrender himself

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himself and his troops prisoners of war, declaring that if he delayed until his batteries were formed, no quarter would be allowed. M. de Chateaugué requested until ten o'clock next morning, to deliberate upon the subject, and was allowed it; but in the mean time the Spanish commander took possession of all the passages by which the savages might come to assist the French, and the place was surrendered at the appointed hour.

The Spaniards afterwards went to the settlement on the Mobile, where they received a check, and likewise attempted to take the Isle Dauphine, but were repulsed.

The Count de Champmelin, *Chef d'Escadre*, having arrived on the 31st of August in view of the Isle Dauphine, anchored next day in the road with five ships of war, and two vessels of the company. He met in the canal two Spanish polacres, which were intended to stop the communication of the island with the Mobile; but at sight of his squadron they made sail for Pensacola. M. de Bienville assembled all the savages and Frenchmen he could find, and conducted them to Isle Dauphine. A council of war was held, where it was settled that the fort of Pensacola should be invested by land with five hundred savages, and that Serigny should accompany De Champmelin, to serve him as a guide along the coast, and to the entry of the port. On found-
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ing the harbour, twenty feet of water were found on the bar, at ebb tide, and the squadron entered, and received the first fire from the fort. The Spaniards had three frigates, one of which was sunk, and soon after the fort surrendered. The French general sent to summon the governor of Pensacola to surrender, with all his garrison, as prisoners of war, and to inform him, that in case of refusal the whole should be put to the sword. M. de Bienville, who had surrounded the place with five hundred savages, and a hundred and fifty Canadians, already refused to treat with him, and conceived that if De Champmelin would allow him to assault the garrison, it must inevitably be carried. He desired his lieutenant to communicate this to the governor, who however sent him away without any answer, but his officers to whom he communicated the summons obliged him to recal him; he then declared that he surrendered.

It was deliberated whether the fort of Pensacola should be preserved. There was no want of soldiers to guard it, but the greatest part were men of infamous character, who had deserted from the troops of France, or who had been compelled to serve by force; and experience of the past, evinced how little they could be trusted. It was therefore resolved to destroy the bastions on the land side, to preserve only two facing the

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port, and to leave there an officer, two serjeants, twenty soldiers, and twelve savages.

In the mean time the fort of the Natchitoches was well supported, and several settlers came to that neighbourhood in the hope of enriching themselves by commerce with the Spaniards: their hopes however were fruitless, and they were thereby prevented from establishing themselves on more solid foundations elsewhere, which contributed to their ruin. M. de Bienville received this year an order from the court to send thither M. de St. Denys, who departed on the beginning of the following year with a reinforcement of troops and ammunition, and was there joined by his lady. M. de Bienville established anew the head quarters at the Biloxi, and there fixed his residence with the greatest part of the troops and the directors of the company, of whom he was the chief. Nothing further was apprehended from the Spaniards: the opportunity was favourable for establishing the settlers, who were frequently arriving from France, and who, if properly distributed, would have been enabled in the course of a few years to settle the borders of the Mississippi as high as the Illinois: but the whole of the attention of the directors of the company was bestowed on making approaches towards the Spaniards, or to prevent them from establishing themselves in the vicinity of Louifi-

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ana. M. de Bienville, agreeably to this system, formed the design of taking possession of the bay of St. Bernard, but he made a bad choice in the person to whom he confided the enterprise. This officer entered the river Magdalen, at which he arrived in his way, ascended its course several leagues, and every where found savages on their guard, and resolved not to suffer strangers in their country. He notified to them that he was come to form an alliance, and to render their condition better; but they replied, that they were contented with their state, and preferred their liberty to all the advantages which could be offered them. This officer nevertheless found means to conciliate the good opinion of some of their principal chiefs, and to retain them. He set sail and carried them to the Biloxi. M. de Bienville blamed much this treasonable conduct, and caused the savages to be re-conducted to their country. On the following year intelligence was received that the Spaniards of Vera Cruz had built a fort in the bay St. Bernard. Pensacola was restored to Spain in consequence of a treaty of peace.

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The troops and stores were removed to New Orleans, which now became the head quarters, and an officer with a small detachment was left to guard the Biloxi. A company of Swifs, with their captain, having embarked in a small vessel with ammunition and provisions, deserted and

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went to Carolina. This desertion was followed by others, and thus Louisiana became more weak every day: it became necessary, therefore, that reinforcements should be sent from France to repair these losses. The governor of Carolina wrote to M. de Bienville to advise him of the arrival of Brandt, and his Swiss company, and hinted to him that he ought to inform the court of France of so great a disorder, which could not fail soon to bring entire ruin on the colony. This settlement had been peopled by men who were sent thither by constraint, or by settlers, who found not the advantages which they had been led to expect: both, therefore, thought of nothing else but to abandon it: a great number perished by misery or disease, and the population declined with much greater rapidity than it had advanced. The deserters on their part protested, that the necessity to which they were reduced for the want of the necessaries of life, obliged them to go in search of sustenance elsewhere. The most discontented were the soldiers, to whom nothing but bread was given, whilst provisions were distributed to the workmen of the company, and even to men who had been galley slaves, who were in the employ of individuals. To add to these calamities, there arose on the 12th of September, at ten o'clock at night, a hurricane on the Mississippi, which lasted

lasted with unremitting violence until next day at noon, and whose effects were felt in the country of the Natchez, and as far as the Biloxi. All the houses and huts of New Orleans were either overthrown or damaged. The vessels were thrown upon the land, and the canoes and batteaux totally destroyed.

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The Chicachas were always hostile to the French, but their hostilities were confined to some surprises, which obliged those who travelled to proceed with precaution. They however relaxed in their operations, and presented to the *Sieur Gravé* the calumet of peace, which he accepted. But the colony, although it had no longer any inconvenience to apprehend on the part of this people, not only the most brave in Louisiana, but also the most formidable on account of their connection with the English, soon experienced that the fidelity of the Natchez could not be depended on, notwithstanding the strict watch that was preserved over that people, naturally deceitful. These barbarians no sooner perceived the French, occupied with other objects, pay less attention to their conduct, than they began their insults, and displayed all their animosity. Unfavourable accounts were likewise received from the Illinois. *M. de Boisbriand* informed, that the people of the Rock, and the Pimiteouy, were besieged by the Outagamis,

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embarked with the Chevalier d'Artaguet and the Sieur de Tifné, both captains, several other officers, and a detachment of a hundred men, to relieve them: he had previously given orders to forty Frenchmen and four hundred savages to proceed by land to Pimiteouy, and to wait his arrival there; but both detachments learnt on the way, that the Outagamis had retreated with the loss of a hundred and twenty men. This success, however, prevented not the Illinois, although they only sustained a loss of twenty men, some women and children, from quitting the Rock, and the Pimiteouy, where they were kept in continual alarm, and coming to unite with those of their nation who were established on the Mississippi. There being now no obstacle to the irruptions of the Outagamis, on the river Illinois, the communication of Louisiana with New France became much less practicable. They received some time afterwards a considerable check from the Sieur de St. Auge, an officer commanding Fort Chartres on the Illinois, who having drawn a great number into an ambuscade, cut almost the whole in pieces: other parties less numerous shared the same fate soon afterwards. But their fury increased in proportion to the diminution of their force, and they found the means of communicating their hostile rage so successfully to the new enemies which the French had raised on the

the Mississippi, that the latter were infested by savages, with whom they had no cause of hostility, and who gave no quarter when they could surprise or attack with advantage.

Many of the Natchez openly declared themselves against the French, and the brother of the great chief was at their head. To procure a durable accommodation with this people, it was necessary that the man who was the author of all the evil should be delivered up to the governor by his own brother; and there were no means of compelling him to that measure. The good conduct of the *Sieur Delietto* was alone able to effect it. He had gained such an ascendancy over the mind of the great chief, that he persuaded him to form the resolution of going himself to surrender his brother to the discretion of the general, who pardoned an enemy who was humbled. They shewed to each other reciprocal marks of confidence, and there was every appearance that this concord would have been lasting, if *M. Delietto* had lived much longer. A certain degree of distrust and precaution on the part of the French, would doubtless have prevented these savages from conceiving any other than pacific sentiments towards them, and have averted the subsequent evils which took place.

No ecclesiastics had, until this year, been introduced into the colony: some father capuchins, having

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having been sent over from France, were distributed among those situations which contained the greatest number of settlers. To establish missionaries among the savages was an object of considerable importance, and it appears somewhat singular that the French had so long overlooked it, especially as the example of the Illinois, which had now for six years been incorporated with Louisiana, sufficiently evinced the beneficial consequences resulting from that system.

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As soon as the company announced to the Jesuits their intention to establish missions among the savage nations of Louisiana, a great number made offer of their services; but as the superiors could not accord to all permission to consecrate themselves to that duty, the directors thought it necessary to place those who first arrived, in the places where there were no capuchins: whence it happened that the Natchez, whom, of all the people in the province it was necessary first to enlighten, were allowed no missionary; and the error which in this respect was committed, was not discovered until it was too late, and had become irreparable. Provision at the same time was made for the education of the French female children of the capital and its environs, by bringing Ursulines from France; and not to multiply establishments in a colony which had not yet begun to assume any form, the same

sisters were charged with the direction of the hospital.

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In the month of October M. Perrier, lieutenant of the marine, was nominated commandant-general of Louisiana, in the place of M. de Bienville, who returned to France. Although there appeared no disturbances in the colony, the new commander soon saw the necessity of having more troops than those he found there. The more he became acquainted with the savages, the stronger was his conviction that he should never be able to fix them in alliance with the French; that it was doubtful whether they should not become enemies, and the means of securing tranquillity was to garrison all the posts, so as to have nothing to fear from their restless and unsteady disposition. He however did not much press the company to send him troops until three years afterwards, when he made a demand of three hundred regular and good soldiers. His request was not only not complied with, but it was asserted that he wished for an augmentation of troops, in order to adopt aggressive measures, and to signalise himself at the expence of the company.

He soon remarked, that, to avoid the importunity of the savages, who are continually making demands, the only means is to appear not to be in want of their assistance. They will then voluntarily

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luntarily follow the Europeans, and if they should seem dissatisfied, they can only be told they were not invited. Although it is necessary in some measure, in order to avoid quarrels with them, to gain their attachment by presents, yet their fidelity can never be depended on, so far as to produce a total exemption from insult.

The tranquillity which Louisiana enjoyed since peace had been made with the Natchez and Chicachas, was only a deceitful calm, which lulled the inhabitants, whilst there was preparing for them a storm, whose destructive effects were averted by an accident, and which might have been fatal to the whole of the French colony: it proved disastrous to those who had not time to prepare against it, on whom its fury burst forth.

For some years the Chicachas had been forming a design of destroying the colony of Louisiana, and of putting to death every Frenchman. Their intrigue had been conducted with such secrecy, that the Illinois, the Acanzas, and the Tonicas, to whom they were afraid to communicate it lest their attachment to the French should induce them to reveal it, had not the most distant conception of what was in contemplation. All the other nations had entered into it; each was to massacre the inhabitants of a particular district, and all were to commence their operations on the

the same day. Even the Tetraetas, the most numerous nation on the continent, and always allied to the French, had been gained over to join in the conspiracy, at least those of the East, who are stiled the Great Nation; those of the West, or the Little Nation, were not comprehended in it; but they kept for a long time the secret, and it was only by accident that they made a discovery, when it was too late to give advice to all the inhabitants to be upon their guard.

M. Pierrer having learnt that the first had some disagreement with M. Diron d'Artaguette, commander of the fort of the Mobile, invited the chiefs of the whole nation to assemble at New Orleans, holding out to them the hope of an entire satisfaction to all their complaints. They accordingly came thither, and having explained the subject for which they were called together, they told the commandant-general, that their nation was much pleased that he had sent an officer to reside among them, and that he had invited them to visit him. They said nothing further, but returned with a strong inclination not to fulfil a promise they had made to the Chicachas, of destroying all the habitations which were dependent on fort Mobile, and to allow the Natchez to execute their part of the project. Of this the latter afterwards reproached them in presence

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presence of the French. There could be no question that their design was to oblige the French to have recourse to them, and by this means to profit by what would be given them, to engage their aid, and by the plunder they should derive from the Natchez.

Thus was the commandant-general ignorant of his situation, on the eve of seeing a part of the colony destroyed by enemies, whom he did not distrust, and betrayed by allies, on whom he believed he might place reliance, and who had been one of his principal resources. It would have been no difficult matter for those whom the Chicachas had gained to their interests, to succeed in the execution of their design, as no French habitation was proof against a surprise. There were several forts in different parts of the country, but, except that of Mobile, they were constructed with stakes, many of which had gone to decay; and had they been in a state of defence, they could have protected from the fury of the savages but a small number of the nearest dwellings. The French conceived themselves, besides, in such a state of security, that the savages might easily have massacred the whole, even in those situations which were the best guarded. An instance of this took place among the Natchez in the following manner.

Between

Between M. de Chepar, who commanded at this post, and these savages, a misunderstanding had arisen, but it appeared that they had carried their dissimulation so far, as to persuade the French that they had no allies who were more faithful than themselves. He thereupon became so little disposed to distrust them, even on a report having spread that the Natchez had some evil design against the French, that he put in irons seven inhabitants who had come to ask permission to assemble, and arm themselves, in case of a surprise. He carried his confidence so far as to receive thirty savages into the fort, and as many into his quarters and their environs. The rest were distributed among the houses of the inhabitants, and the shops of the artificers, two or three leagues above and below their village. The day appointed for the execution of the general conspiracy was not yet arrived, but two circumstances determined the Natchez to anticipate it. The first was, that there arrived at the landing-place some batteaux loaded with merchandise, for the garrison of this post, for those of the Yafous, and for many inhabitants, and they wished to take possession of them before the distribution was made: the second, that the commandant had received a visit from some of the most considerable persons of the settlements, who were then with him: they therefore conceived,

that

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that on a pretence of going to the chase, to furnish M. de Chepar with fresh provisions to regale his guests, they might all arm, without any cause of suspicion. They made the proposal to the commandant, who agreed to it with pleasure, and immediately they went to purchase from the inhabitants fusils and ammunition, for which they paid in money.

They afterwards spread themselves through all the settlement, publishing that they were going to the chase, taking care that their number should in every place exceed those of the French. They sung the calumet in honour of the commandant and his company, after which they returned each to his post. Immediately on three reports from a fusil being fired from M. Chepar's quarters, they every where began the massacre. The commandant and his guests were first killed : there was no resistance but in the house of M. de la Loire, principal clerk of the company of the Ladies, who had with him eight men. They fought until six Frenchmen and eight savages fell ; the remaining two Frenchmen made their escape on horseback. Previous to the execution of their purpose, they persuaded several negroes, among whom were two drivers, to join them. They had brought the others to believe that they should be free with the savages, that the wives and children of the French should become their slaves,

slaves, and that they should have nothing to fear from the French of the other posts, because the massacre was general throughout the whole. It appeared, however, that the secret had been confided to a small number only, lest it should have been discovered. Two hundred men perished almost at the same instant. Of all the French who were at this post only twenty-five escaped, with five negroes, the greatest part of them wounded. An hundred and fifty children, eighty women, and as many negroes were taken.

During this massacre the Sun, or great chief of the Natchez, was seated in tranquillity under the tobacco shed of the company of the Indies. The head of the commandant, and those of the principal Frenchmen were brought him, which he caused to be arranged around the first: the bodies remained without sepulture, and became a prey to dogs and carnivorous birds. The barbarians spared two Frenchmen, on account of the utility they hoped to derive from them: the one was a taylor, and the other a carpenter. They did not treat with cruelty the negroe and savage slaves who surrendered themselves without resistance, but they ripped open the women big with child, and destroyed almost the whole of those who had children at the breast, because they importuned them with their cries and lamentations.

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The rest were made slaves, and underwent the greatest indignities.

When they were assured that there remained no longer any Frenchmen in their country, they began to pillage the houses, the magazines, and bateaux at the landing-place. To deprive the women and the slaves of all hope of recovering their liberty, they were assured that the massacre had been general throughout the colony, and that not a Frenchman by that time existed in Louisiana. Some, however, had saved themselves in the woods, where they suffered much from cold and hunger. There was one who had the boldness to leave his concealment, to go to warm himself at a house which he perceived. As he approached it he heard some savage voices, and deliberated whether he should enter. He at length determined to expose himself to hazard, preferring a violent and immediate death to the calamity of perishing gradually, which appeared to him inevitable in the present extremity. But he was agreeably surprised at the reception which he met with from the savages, who were Yafous, and who, after comforting him, furnished him with provisions, clothing, and a wooden canoe to transport him to Orleans. Their chief even charged him to assure M. Perrier, that he had nothing to fear on the part of his nation; that it remained always faithfully attached to the French,

French, and that he would go with a party of his men, to notify to all the French whom he should meet descending the river to be upon their guard. This person, on his arrival at New Orleans, found the inhabitants in a state of the greatest alarm. Intelligence of the massacre had already been received by the first, who had escaped from the Natchez, and great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the Frenchmen established among the Yafous. On the testimony given them by this person of the humane treatment he had received from that people, some hope was entertained, but this was of short duration. On the 11th of December father Souel, a Jesuit, who was missionary among the Yafous, at that time mixed in the same village with the *Corrois* and the *Offogoulas*, returning on the evening from a visit to one of the chiefs, received, whilst he was passing a river, several shot from fusils, and immediately expired. His murderers forthwith betook themselves to his cabin in order to plunder: his negroe acted on the defensive, armed with a large knife, and wounded one of the savages, but was soon overpowered.

Early next morning they came to the fort, which was not more distant than a league from their village. It was supposed, on seeing their arrival, that they came to sing the calumet to

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the Chevalier de Roches, who commanded in the absence of M. de Codere : for although, from the Natchez to the Yafous, the distance was only forty leagues by water, and fifteen by land, they were yet ignorant at this last post of what happened fifteen days before at the former. The savages were permitted to enter the fort, and unexpectedly attacked the French, whose number was only seventeen : they had not time to adopt any means of defence, and not one of them escaped. The barbarians spared four women and five children, of whom they made slaves. The Offogoulas were then at the chace : on their return they were strongly solicited to enter into the conspiracy, but they uniformly refused, and withdrew to the Tonicas, whom they knew to be firmly attached to the French.

Some suspicion of this last misfortune was entertained at New Orleans, when the arrival of father Doutreleau, a Jesuit missionary of the Illinois, placed it beyond a doubt. He had embraced the opportunity, whilst the savages were occupied in the chace in winter, to descend to the capital, there to regulate some affairs which concerned his mission. He intended to stop at the habitation of father Souel, of whose death he was ignorant, but fearing lest he should not arrive there before noon, he went to celebrate mass at the entrance of the river of the Yafous. As he was
making

making preparation for this ceremony, a canoe with savages arrived at the same place: they were asked of what nation they were, and they answered that they were Yafous, friends of the French, presenting at the same time provisions to those who accompanied the missionary. Some wild fowl happening then to pass, the Canadians, who had only two fusils, discharged them, and as the father was ready to begin mass, they did not think of re-loading. Of this the savages took notice, and placed themselves behind the French, as if they wished to hear mass, although they were not Christians. Whilst the Jesuit was engaged in his devotions, they fired upon the French, wounded him, and killed one of his people: he then hastened to his canoe, into which the two remaining parts of his attendants had thrown themselves, and believing him dead, they had made towards the centre of the river. He swam towards them, and as he was getting into the canoe, turned his head to see if they were not pursued: he received in his face a discharge of slugs, which however did not much wound him. He took the direction of the canoe, and his two men, one of whom had his thigh broken by a shot, they made every exertion to escape. The savages pursued them for an hour, keeping up a continued discharge, but as they found they could not overtake them, they went ashore.

Having arrived at the Natchez, and ignorant of what had there taken place, they approached the landing with a design of repofing themselves; but perceiving all the neighbouring houfes either burnt or destroyed, they were afraid to difembark. Some favages who difcovered them in vain invited them to approach, by fhewing them every demonftration of friendship, but they paffed as quickly as they were able. The barbarians then fired on them, but they were beyond the reach of their fhots. They wifhed alfo to pafs the bay of the Tonicas without ftopping, but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, a canoe which was detached to reconnoitre them foon overtook them. They gave themfelves up for loft, when they heard fome perfons in the canoe fpeak French. They were conducted afhore, where they found troops affembled who were going to take vengeance on the Natchez.

M. Perrier was informed, on the 2d of December, of this new difafter. He detached a captain with fome troops to order the inhabitants on each fide of the river to be upon their guard, to form redoubts at convenient diftances from each other, to place their flaves and cattle in fecurity: this was executed with much promptitude. He recommended to the officer to obferve the fmall nations on the banks of the river, and to give arms to no favages, but to thofe to whom

he was instructed to give them. A courier was at the same time dispatched to notify to the Tehactas, who were employed in the chase on Lake Pontchartrain, to repair to him. There arrived next day at New Orleans a canoe, in which was a Tehacta, who demanded to speak to him privately. This man told him, that he was much concerned for the death of the French, which he would have prevented, if he had not considered as devoid of truth what the Chicachas had reported, that the savages proposed to destroy all the French habitations, and massacre their inhabitants. He had scarcely heard this savage, when others from the smaller nations came to warn him to place no confidence in the Tehactas; and he at the same time learnt that two Frenchmen were killed at the Mobile. They were unable to discover the authors of this assassination, but it was published throughout all their canton, that the Tehactas were to fall upon the fort, and the whole of the settlement. The commandant-general wished to conceal these news from the inhabitants, who were already too much under the influence of fear; but they soon spread every where, and the consternation became so general and so great that the whole colony trembled.

He dispatched St. Michel to France, to inform the court and the company of the melancholy state of Louisiana, and to solicit supplies propor-

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tionate to the necessity to which the colony was reduced. In the mean time it was with difficulty he could re-assure the inhabitants, and counteract the effects of despondency produced by such a succession of unfortunate events. He learnt that the smaller nations had been gained by the Chicachas, and if the Natchez had not anticipated the day settled for the execution of their plan, they would all have acted together.

M. Perrier had not yet developed all the springs of this inhuman policy; it however appeared certain, that had it not been for the conduct of the western Tehactas, the general conspiracy would have had its full operation. Therefore he did not hesitate to make use of them as an instrument of punishing the Natchez, whatever it might cost him. Two vessels of the company happily arrived at New Orleans, and he wished no longer to defer marching against the enemy, persuaded that he could not too soon engage the Tehactas to replace the small nations in the interest of the French, or at least to retain them in a state of neutrality. He knew however, that he run some risk in beginning the war with so little force, and he sent M. le Sueur to engage in his favour the savages in the neighbourhood of the Mobile, who formed a body of seven hundred warriors, whom he conducted to the Natchez. M. Perrier caused to ascend to the

the Tonicas the two vessels of the company. He sent messengers by land to notify at all the posts what was going forward, and took the best measures he could to fortify New Orleans. He gave to the Chevalier Loubois charge of the expedition against the Natchez, it being thought necessary that he should himself remain at New Orleans in case of an attack. An officer with twenty-five men was detached to reconnoitre the enemy: whilst he was landing, a quantity of shot from fusils was poured upon his party, which killed three men, and he himself and two others were taken prisoners. Next morning the Natchez sent one of these two to M. Loubois, to make some propositions; but they affected a degree of haughtiness, which shewed a great confidence in themselves, and a contempt of the French.

They demanded as hostages a French officer, and the great chief of the Tonicas. They afterwards specified in a long detail all the merchandise which they required for the ransom of the women, children, and slaves which they had among them; and although their conditions were exorbitant, they appeared to suppose that the French would be happy to comply with them. The soldier was detained, and no answer given; and on the same day they avenged themselves by burning, with circumstances of the most aggravated

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gravated cruelty, the officer and soldier who remained in their hands.

On his arrival at the Natchez, M. le Sueur began his attack. It appears that they were yet ignorant that the army was in the bay of the Tonicas, where it was incapable of restraining the interested impetuosity of the savages, which a desire of booty and of sharing a part of the prisoners had incited. They charged the enemy so briskly, that they killed eighty men, made sixteen women prisoners, liberated upwards of fifty French women and children, the two artificers whom the Natchez had spared, and a hundred and fifty negroes, male and female. They would have carried their victory much further, if some of the negroes who had been gained by the Natchez had not taken arms in their favour, and guarded their store of powder.

M. de Loubois set out from the bay of the Tonicas with two hundred men, and some field-pieces, and arrived on the 8th of February at the Natchez, where he encamped around the temple. On the 12th the cannon were brought before one of their forts, and as it was conceived these preparations, especially after the check they had received, would have disposed them to submit to all that would be demanded of them, they were acquainted, that, by their early submission, they might avoid entire destruction; they were, however,

however, more resolute than ever to defend themselves. Next day a fire was begun with seven cannon, at two hundred and fifty toises from the fort, which were so badly managed, that after six hours of continual discharge not a single stake was thrown down; a circumstance which threw the Tehactas into bad humour, and the insolence and avidity of these savages, who wantonly expended a part of the ammunition with which they were furnished, tended more to discourage the French commander than the desperate manner in which the Natchez defended themselves. He again wished to try if the besieged were become more reasonable, and sent an interpreter with a flag to summon them; but they received this envoy with a discharge from their fusils, which struck him with such terror that he abandoned his flag. It would have been seized by the enemy, had not a French soldier rescued it. The Natchez made, the same day, a sortie, with a design to surprise Loubois, who was lodged in the temple, but they did not succeed. The savages, to the number of three hundred, made a second sortie, and attacked in three different places; they surprised a post in the trenches, at which were thirty men and two officers, who immediately fled, believing they were attacked at the same time by the Natchez and the Tehactas; they were ready to take possession

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session of the cannon, when the Chevalier d'Artaguet with twenty-five men hastened thither, repulsed the enemy, and regained the trenches. On the 24th a battery of four pieces of cannon of four pounds was established at the distance of a hundred and eighty toises from the fort, on which the besieged sent the wife of the Sieur Desnoyers, whom they entrusted with their terms. She was detained, and no answer was given. A chief of the Tehactas afterwards advanced with a party of his people to speak to the besieged; on this they consented to give up the prisoners, but they at the same time declared, that the French must be satisfied with that measure, and that the army with the cannon must first be withdrawn to the borders of the river; and should they remain before the fort, that they would burn all the prisoners. This last consideration determined M. Loubois to comply with their demand, without however losing sight of the design of preventing the escape of the Natchez. The prisoners were delivered to the Tehactas, and the Natchez made their escape. The only advantages derived from this expedition, were the release of the prisoners, and the establishment of a fort, on the same spot to which the army withdrew. The Chevalier d'Artaguet was left with a garrison to maintain it, and to insure the navigation of the river.

The

The Tehactas, after rendering to the French all the service in their power by acting in concert with them, excited disgust by their insolent and ferocious conduct. Their assistance was however necessary, and it was the interest of the French to conciliate their friendship. The Yasous, the Corrois, and the Tioux, were not so fortunate as the Natchez: the Akaufas fell upon them, and made a great slaughter; there remained of the two first tribes but fifteen savages, who went to join the Natchez; the Tioux were totally destroyed.

Some supplies of troops having arrived from France, and M. Perrier finding his presence now less necessary at New Orleans, set out for Mobile, where he had invited an assembly of the savage chiefs, not to demand their assistance against the Natchez, but to regulate some affairs relating to commerce. Having in a great degree attained the object of his journey, he returned to the seat of government, where he found a small army, which he had ordered to be assembled, in readiness to begin its march. He first sent two Canadians before, to learn the state of the enemy, and of the fort which formerly belonged to the French. Two hundred men were embarked on the 9th of December, composed of three companies of the marine, some sailors and volunteers. M. Perrier followed, with two companies of

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of fusileers, and one of grenadiers, composing likewise two hundred men: he was joined on the way by a hundred and fifty militia. On the 20th, all the army having met at the Bayagoulas, a Colapissa chief arrived with forty warriors of his nation. On the 22d the army departed from the Bayagoulas, divided into three bodies; the negroes were dispersed among the different canoes, and the savages who were not yet all assembled, were to form a separate corps. It was learnt that a canoe, in which was twenty-five Frenchmen, had been attacked by the Natchez, and that sixteen of the number were killed or wounded. Intelligence was likewise brought that the Akaufas, having no account of the approach of the French, and tired with expectation, had returned to their country. Part of the army waited for some time in the bay of the Tonicas, there to assemble the savages who had not yet joined.

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The general again met the army at the entrance of the Red River, having with him a hundred and fifty savages of different nations. These were detached, together with fifty volunteers, to proceed before the army, under the conduct of the Sieur de Laye, captain of militia, and to surround the Natchez wherever they could find them. But this detachment did not proceed far, because the savages were not well disposed for

for the expedition. The general had recommended great precaution in concealing themselves from the enemy, but his orders were ineffectual, because the savages, who acknowledged no authority, and preserved no discipline, continued to fire upon the game which presented itself; it was therefore extraordinary, after a long march, conducted with so little secrecy, they should have found the enemy in their fort.

They arrived there on the 20th of January, and orders were immediately given to invest it; as they advanced so near as to be able to speak to the enemy, the besieged made use of much invective: the trenches were opened, and the people on both sides were employed in skirmishing the rest of the day and all the following night. The mortars, and every other article necessary for a siege, were next day disembarked, and some shells were thrown into the fort. The besieged made a sortie, killed a Frenchman and a negroe, and wounded an officer, but they were quickly repulsed. On the 22d shells were thrown the whole day, without any material effect; but before two days more had elapsed, they hoisted a white flag. The commandant erected a similar flag in the trenches, and a little time afterwards a savage advanced with two calumets in his hand. He requested a cessation of hostilities, offering to surrender all the negroes they had in the fort.

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The commandant required that the chiefs should come to him, in order to settle the terms of peace. The envoy returned to the fort, and brought back to the French eighteen negroes. In delivering them to the general, he said that the Sun or chief would not leave the fort: that he ardently wished for peace with the French, but upon condition that the army should immediately withdraw: that if this measure was adopted, he would give his word that his nation should never commit any act of hostility against the French, and that he was willing, if it was desired, to re-establish his village in its ancient situation. The general answered, that he would listen to no proposal, unless delivered by the chiefs in person: that he would assure them of their safety; but that if they came not the same day, no quarter would be given. The Sun at length came out accompanied by two chiefs, and was conducted to M. Perrier's quarters, where four centinels were placed over them. One of them, notwithstanding, found means to escape in the night, and to draw with him from the fort a great part of the savages who defended it. There remained not above seventy warriors, who had no chief, and the fear of falling into the hands of the enemy, if they should attempt to escape separately, obliged the greatest part of them to remain shut up. In the mean time the French had

had ceased from firing, and as it had continued incessantly to rain for three days, the besieged supposed that the French would be less exact in guarding the passes, in which they were not deceived. About eight o'clock in the evening it was discovered that they were escaping. Immediately several French soldiers were ordered to pursue, but they passed along the course of a small river which ran between the quarters of the militia and those of one of the divisions, and when the French took possession of the fort, the Natchez were at a considerable distance from it, with their women and children. The savages acting with the French, refused to pursue the Natchez, and there being no longer any enemy, the general made a disposition for returning. The Sun with his attendants and family were embarked in a small vessel called the St. Louis.

It was not long before the Natchez rendered themselves again formidable, and the impolitic and unjustifiable conduct of the French, in sending to be sold at St. Domingo as slaves, the Sun, and all those who had been taken with him, had more enraged than intimidated that nation, in whom hatred and despair had converted their natural haughtiness and ferocity into a steady valour, of which they were conceived incapable. In the month of April the great chief of the

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Tonicas descended to New Orleans, and related to M. Perrier, that being engaged in the chase, four Natchez came to present themselves to him, and to intreat him to endeavour to effect an accommodation between the French and their countrymen, adding, that all, and even they who had withdrawn to the Chicachas, requested to be received into favour: that they would settle themselves wherever the general should point out, but that they should prefer being in the vicinity of the Tonicas. He therefore had taken the journey to New Orleans, to be acquainted with the general's pleasure upon that subject.

It was agreed that they should establish themselves at two leagues from the village of the Tonicas, and not nearer, in order to avoid every occasion of dispute between the two nations; but that he should insist above all that they should come unarmed. The Tonica promised that this order should be conformed to; in the mean time, as soon as he returned, he received into his village thirty Natchez, after having taken the precaution to disarm them. A few days afterwards the chief who had escaped arrived among the Tonicas with a hundred men, their wives and children, having first concealed among the canes around the village fifty Chicachas and Courrois. The great chief declared to them,

that he was prohibited from receiving them unless they surrendered their arms. They replied, that such was their intention, but they intreated his indulgence to retain them for a little time, lest their women, seeing them thus disarmed, might believe them prisoners, and destined to suffer death. To this he consented, and distributed provisions to his new guests; the feast ended in a dance, which continued till after midnight. The Tonicas retired to their cabins, doubting not that the Natchez would likewise go to rest. An hour before dawn of day the Natchez, Chicachas, and Courrois entered all the cabins, and killed every one whom they found asleep. The chief, alarmed by the noise, run into the midst of them, and killed five Natchez with his own hand, but overwhelmed by numbers he fell, together with twelve of his attendants. His war chief, not dismayed by the loss, nor by the flight of the greatest part of his warriors, rallied a small number, with whom he regained the cabin of the great chief; those who fled returned to him, and after an obstinate contest he remained master of the village.

As soon as intelligence of this affair reached New Orleans, a party under the orders of the Chevalier d'Artaguet was detached, to endeavour, as soon as possible, to persuade the savages

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to pursue the Natchez. M. de Crefnay was also ordered to secure those who had surrendered themselves to him, but his aid major, to whom he had entrusted the care of them, having left them their knives, they, at a time when least expected, seized eight fusils, and ammunition, with which they fired until several people were killed. Their chief had descended to New Orleans with fifteen men, where they were seized, sent to the island of Thoulouse, and put in irons, which they found means to break; but not having time to effect their escape, they were all killed.

The party of Natchez who had failed in their attack on the Tonicas, went to rejoin their countrymen who had, by the Black River, escaped from M. Perrier at the siege of the fort. Having found them, they went together to the Natchitoches, where M. Saint Denys was posted with a few soldiers, and laid siege to his fort. That officer sent immediately an express to the commandant to demand succour, and Loubois was sent with sixty men to reinforce him; but he was informed on his way, that the Natchez were repulsed, but had possessed themselves of the village of the Natchitoches, and had entrenched themselves there. M. de Saint Denys having received a reinforcement from the Affin-
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nais and Attacapas, to whom some Spaniards had joined themselves, attacked their intrenchments, and killed eighty-two, among whom were all their chiefs. The remainder had betaken themselves to flight, and were pursued by the Natchitoches. So many losses, and particularly that of their chiefs, had so completely dispersed the Natchez, that they no longer composed a nation; but a sufficient number still remained to disturb the inhabitants of Louisiana, and to interrupt their commerce. To remain upon friendly terms with the Chicachas was no longer possible: they delayed not openly to declare themselves. Their number amounted to a thousand warriors, besides about a hundred Natchez and some Courrois and Yasous. This was sufficient to keep the colony in alarm, and it appeared to be upon the eve of supporting a new war, which its present force did not promise that it should be able soon to terminate.

The Chicachas, the most fierce, and at the same time the most brave of all the nations of Louisiana, waited for a considerable time before they threw off the mask. They had taken such measures for withstanding the French, as gave reason to suppose that their neighbours were concerned with them, of which proofs not altogether equivocal soon appeared. They began
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by sending a trusty negroe to explain to his countrymen who were among the French, that it depended on themselves to recover their liberty, and to live in tranquillity and abundance. As he conducted his intrigue with much address, he was attended to by his countrymen, and it was only by a negroe woman that the conspiracy was discovered. They had agreed, when the inhabitants of the town should be at mass, to set fire to the different houses, and to take that opportunity of escaping. On the evidence of this woman, another female, who was a principal agent in the conspiracy, and four men who were also leaders, were seized, and further proofs appearing against them, were punished with death. This example, which evinced to the other negroes that their secret was discovered, was sufficient to restrain any further attempts.

In the mean time, the Tehactas, part of whom had been gained by the Chicachas, had disregarded invitations which the Sieur Regis had made them on the part of the general, to send three hundred of their warriors to join the French; but forty of their people having been killed in a skirmish by the latter, this check induced them to form an alliance with them. The Chicachas then turned themselves towards the Miamis, the Illinois, and the Akaufas, but they

they found these people faithful to their engagements with the French, and relinquished every hope from those quarters. The Illinois delivered up to the general three ambassadors who had been sent to them upon that mission: these were surrendered to the Tehactas, who burnt them at New Orleans, and thereby extinguished every hope of conciliation with the Chicachas.

Such was the situation of the colony when M. Perrier expected to be recalled, because he understood that his conduct had been disapproved of by the company of the Indies; he was however surprised to receive a new commission appointing him governor of Louisiana for the King. From the beginning of this year the company had resolved on the retrocession to his Majesty of the grant which he had given them of this province, and of the country of the Illinois, and also of the exclusive privilege, on condition of being allowed the power of granting permissions to merchants of the kingdom inclined to trade with that country. This resolution was soon after confirmed by a decree, and by virtue of letters patent from the King, M. de Salmont, who acted at New Orleans as chief commissioner, took possession of the country in name of the Most Christian King.

M. Perrier

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M. Perrier was not allowed time to profit by the measures which he had taken to carry on the war against the Chicachas. He preferred to be engaged in a service in which he had been reared, to expeditions which can by no means be compensated by the credit acquired from them, and he was relieved by M. de Bienville whom he had succeeded. The new governor found himself engaged in a war with the Chicachas, which lasted for many years. A war, in which the Chevalier d'Artaguet and a great number of brave officers perished. In this war also perished a Jesuit named Senar, who, forgetful of his own safety, was impelled by humanity to administer comfort and relief to the wounded, until all hope of his retreat was cut off.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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